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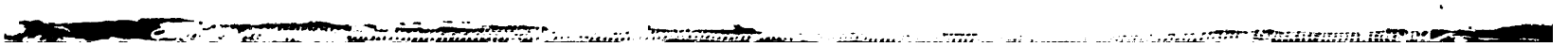

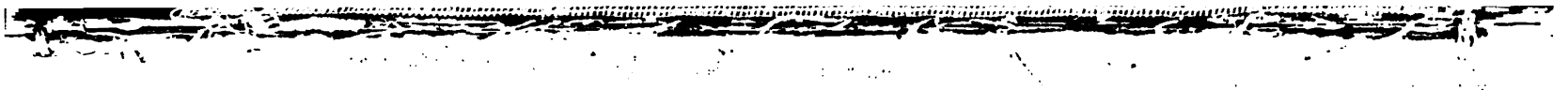

EVENTS

IN THE

TAEPING REBELLION

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PORTRAIT OF GENERAL CHARLES GORDON C.B.

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VENTS

IN THE

REPETITION

EVENTS

IN THE

TAEPING REBELLION

BEING REPRINTS OF MSS.
COPIED BY GENERAL GORDON, C.B.
IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING

WITH
MONOGRAPH, INTRODUCTION, AND NOTES

BY
A. EGMONT HAKE
AUTHOR OF 'THE STORY OF CHINESE GORDON,' AND EDITOR OF
GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNALS AT KHARTOUM, ETC.

WITH PORTRAIT AND MAP

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EDITOR'S NOTE

I WISH to tender my sincere thanks to Mr. Val Prinsep for his kindness in allowing me to reproduce his famous portrait of General Gordon, as well as to the Officers of the Chatham Mess, whose property it is. I would also express my gratitude to Major Story for the contribution of his Reminiscences of the Taeping Rebellion.

I may add that the design for the cover of this work is a facsimile reproduction of the visiting-card used by General Gordon during his sojourn in China, and that the symbols represent the two syllables of his name.

A. E. H.

CHINESE SEAL BELONGING TO THE LATE.
GENERAL GORDON.

GORDON AS LEADER OF MEN

A MAN of average height—about five feet nine, with brown curly hair and luminous blue eyes—eyes that looked you through and through, and summed you up at a glance; eyes that told you of a stronger will than yours; eyes that seemed to read your very soul, and wring from you the truth. His manner—impressive, gentle, even tender, except when he was roused or angry, and then sternness and invincibility itself. Humorous, too, in a manner quaint, boyish, and peculiarly his own, and with a wit that was pleasant to all; cruel and offensive to none. A sweetness of disposition which made him beloved wherever he went; a wrath so terrible, it made him feared.

A man for whom the honours of this world had no charm; to whom the blame of men was a pleasure, and their praise a pain; a man who had the hero's courage, the statesman's wisdom, the prophet's foresight and faith—a wondrous personality; a com-

pound of many natures, each one in living contrast with the other, but all subdued to one magnificent and noble purpose, the benefaction of his kind; this man, who lived and who died for humanity—this strange and potent compound of tenderness and passion, of petulance and magnanimity, of humility and daring, of boyish cheeriness and apostolic zeal, of perfect charity and irresistible command, of loftiest pride and most ungrudging self-privation, this living embodiment of striking contradictions, this world of warring elements, this human paradox, is—Charles Gordon.

Now, we should mark these qualities, not for their own sakes, nor out of curiosity, but with a view to noting the manner in which they are turned to account under difficulties; the varied and peculiar felicity with which they are adapted to circumstances; the success, unparalleled, with which they shape events, determine the course of great wars, and arrest and change the destinies of mighty empires. Wherever Gordon is, there is not only a hero and a leader of men; there is a character, a personality, unique in human history.

(His was no fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees his adversaries, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland must be run for, not without dust and heat.)

A cadet in the schools, a subaltern in the trenches before Sebastopol, his personality—the

virtue that is in him—shines out splendidly conspicuous.

We shall see him, grown to man's estate, bamboo in hand, and with the inevitable cigar, leading his little army against the fierce and desperate hordes of China's Heavenly King, heedless of danger, contemptuous of death, but full of mercy and loving-kindness for the fallen; we shall see him saving the oldest Empire in the world from ruin, then lavishing his pay upon his soldiers, and declining all honours and rewards. We shall see him avoid the praise of men, the felicitations of his equals, take up his abode among the poor, and devote himself, body and soul, with the same energy of magnanimity to the needs of ragged urchins snatched from the gutter, to the comfort of the sick, the palsied, and the blind. We shall see him in the Soudan ministering, in his own person, to the needs of the pariahs of his race, the children of a thousand years of bondage, yet in the pressing affairs of State and war still thinking of the lads in England he loved to guide. We shall see him again, alone and unarmed, riding into the camp of Suleiman, the robber chief, and his 3000 desperadoes, and by the magic of his presence and his voice thrilling his would-be assassins to his will. We shall see him again and again face to face with death, but ever victorious in the whole armour of God, sweeping away slavery from the land of slaves, stamping out rebellion, and relieving almost alone

the beleaguered garrisons of the Soudan. And we shall see him, last of all—alone at Khartoum—beating back the black hosts of the Mahdi, and performing, day after day, month after month, such prodigies of skill and valour as make his whereabouts the cynosure of the world and his safety a prime interest of civilised humanity, despairing not for himself, but for the faithful few who with him are doomed to die; despairing for the deserted land he hoped to save, but trusting in the God with whom he soon will find his home.

It is no rare thing for the boy to forerun and anticipate the man. Character is born with us; we are statesmen and heroes—or the opposite—from our cradle upwards. Lord Beaconsfield at twenty played at being prime minister of England, and Charlie Gordon played at soldiers, made caves in the garden, and was an adventurer in savage lands long before he had let go his mother's apron. He was born to govern and command, and he gave proof of that spirit of domination which was his helpmate in life while he was yet a cadet at Woolwich. The youngsters of that generation were a good deal less bookish and a good deal more, let us say, spontaneous than the youngsters of to-day. Gordon was as brisk and fond of fun as any. He was unruly and his officer corrected him. He tore the epaulets from his shoulders and flung them at his senior's feet!

Now this trivial incident has a good deal more

significance than we might at first suppose; it illustrates a most important element of Gordon's success, viz. personality, for, as we shall see, it was not so much by force of arms, or skill in the great art of war, that Gordon vanquished his enemies, quelled his own mutinous troops, mastered the slave-hunters, and moulded to his will the dusky tribes of the Soudan. No, it was by sheer force of personality. His whole career, in fact, is one long triumph of individuality; and, looked at from this point of view, must have an abiding interest for all people and all time.

As a subaltern in the Crimea it was his personality which at once placed him above his comrades and captured the attention of his officers. He always knew more of the enemy's movements than any one in the trenches. Where difficult or dangerous work was going on there was Gordon; alert, contemplative, actor and spectator in one, almost playfully dodging the shot and shell; schooling himself for war in the midst of suffering, danger, and privation; snatching at any and every chance that should help to make him a soldier, and working out a system of tactics of his own. To his genius twelve months in the trenches before Sebastopol were as twelve years. As he proved before long, he was already fit to command an army, and perform his part in what is after all the great work of the world, the leadership of men, the deliverance of nations, the salvation of humanity.

When Todleben had dismantled his defences, and the Russian war was over, Gordon, young as he was,—scarce four and twenty—was chosen as the man best fitted to act as Deputy-Commissioner in Bessarabia and Armenia for the demarcation of the new Turco-Russian frontier—no insignificant post. It was in the performance of this duty, in semi-barbarous lands, that he learned the nature of those wandering tribes over whom, for the rest of his life, he exercised an influence unequalled, save by the achievement of the Carthaginian Hannibal. While he was thus schooling his faculties for greater work, that work was making ready to his hand. A vast rebellion—a rebellion such as the world, old as she is, has rarely seen and suffered—had taken hold of the immemorial Empire of China, and steadily and surely was eating out the heart of the most ancient and enduring of Time's inventions, a civilisation counting its ages not by centuries, but by thousands of years.

It had first flickered up in a little flame of fanatic discontent far away in a remote region of the Empire, and had then burst and swept like a fiery tempest across the length and breadth of the land. For more than ten years the wisest counsellors, the most adroit tacticians, the bravest captains, had striven to stem its course, and to beat back the conquering hosts of the Heavenly King, an impostor, who, if he had not Mahomed's genius, had wellnigh enjoyed Mahomed's fortune, and who, but for Charles

Gordon, might now be sitting in state at Pekin, or worshipped as the miraculous ancestor of a line of mighty kings.

The rebel army, now marvellously organised and equipped, led by rapacious chiefs and flushed with conquest, numbered some 500,000 determined men. It had captured centres of Government, with arsenals and stores and treasures. It held the busy and populous cities of the south—Nankin, Souchow, and fifty others; and, with banners flying, was marching to certain victory upon Shanghai and upon Pekin—the sacred capital.

The people of Shanghai began to get alarmed. The Heavenly King was within striking distance of their treasures and themselves. Day after day great crowds of hunted peasants would rush, breathless and terror-stricken, into their streets, the foeman almost at their heels. Plainly the whole fabric of their existence was on the edge of dissolution.

The merchants had most to lose, so they were, naturally, the most practical. They got together an army of defence, and a very curious army it was. When I tell you about it, you will agree that, mistaking medicine for war, and confounding good surgery with good generalship, they applied a blister to cure an irritation. They were pressed for time, and they laid hold of any and every one they could get—sailors without a ship and deserters from the enemy, gaol-birds, pirates, wreckers and

filibusters, outlaws, swashbucklers, roughs and tramps, of all nations, degrees, colours, and characters.

This was the army of defence — the self-christened EVER VICTORIOUS ARMY. The men who composed it, as you see, had no names of their own worth mentioning, so they adopted in a big, high-sounding one, the EVER VICTORIOUS ARMY.

Let us do them justice.

One thing they had in their favour: they could fight, and they did fight like demons.

They did not fight for country, for honour, for glory. They fought for money, plunder, loot, whatever they could get out of the scramble. If the rebel chief had offered them a better price they would have taken it and fought on the other side with pleasure. They had nothing to lose: their past would hardly bear minute inspection, and as for their future, they did not care for that. Few would have hoped for a decent death; and to many the prospect of a pair of gallows must have looked quite honourable and inviting.

But there was no need for them to join the Heavenly King. They had it all their own way. They attacked the outlying rebel holds, and when they had beaten out the enemy, they simply helped themselves: they grabbed anything and everything they could lay their hands on, stores, treasures, provisions, arms, even gongs and musical boxes. They desecrated the temples. They tore the jewels

from the idols, and kicked the fallen gods into the streets. And when they returned from a raid, they did not politely hand over these perquisites to their masters, they did not give them away. Not at all. They kept all they could, and sold the rest. And if there was anything over they burnt or threw it away.

Some people said they did as much harm as the rebels themselves, and were a new danger to the community. Well: at any rate, there they were. This was the EVER VICTORIOUS ARMY. This was the gang of desperadoes to whom Gordon, the embodiment of personality, at the age of nine and twenty, was placed in command.

Now, how did he deal with these fire-eaters, every one of whom thought himself no doubt as good as the General, and better?

Did he leave them undisturbed?

Did he signify to them that he thought their manners charming, and that he should be delighted to let them go on in their old way?

Not for a moment. Directly he stepped into the command he established a system of regular pay and swept all this plunder-system to the winds.

"There shall be no more of this," he said. "The men shall be well paid and well cared for; but there shall be no more sacking and burning of towns: *I command Soldiers, not Robbers.*"

In fact, he set to work to re-organise these 3000

ruffians, and to teach them not only the drill but—what was more difficult and dangerous—the discipline of civilised nations. Of course, there were croakers—when are there not?—who said it could never be done; that the EVER VICTORIOUS were not accustomed to European ways; that in any case these heroes would never submit to a soft-voiced young man, who never used bad language, and had been but a year in China.

They certainly did not seem disposed to do so, for on their return from their first expedition—a glorious victory over three times their number—it turned out that they had been at their old tricks again.

As usual, they had plundered the city, and as usual, they were now trying to sell their loot. The instant Gordon heard of this he cashiered the officer in command and replaced him by a better man. This not altogether suiting the arrangements of the EVER VICTORIOUS they began to kick, after the manner of their kind.

"Who is this man," they said, "that he should play the high and mighty with *us?* *We* did the fighting and *we* want the swag, and, what's more, we mean to have it."

But for once in their lives they reckoned without their host. "Any one man who disobeys my orders," said Gordon, "shall be shot."

Then the row began in earnest.

Their blood was up, and they were being sub-

jected to a style of treatment not less offensive than unfamiliar.

They were now being vaccinated with a new kind of lymph, and as yet they neither understood the character nor appreciated the qualities of the doctor who was operating.

They held a meeting, the result of which was that they sent a round-robin to Gordon, stating that unless they got what they wanted there would be trouble. They'd shoot this man; they'd gibbet that; they would none of him, nor his orders either.

There was trouble; but not in the direction they had indicated.

The new Commander in his turn called a meeting, and the discontented leaders—growling and cursing and swearing—assembled in the barrack-yard.

"Now," said Gordon, suddenly appearing, "Fall in!"

This they refused to do.

And from that moment they began to know and understand their man. He whom they had thought so quiet, so unassuming, so easily managed, became transformed, and in an instant rose up before them the embodiment of sternness, passion and unconquerable will.

"The name of the ringleader. Quick!" he cried. "Out with it! or within an hour one man in every five of you shall be shot."

This was received with a loud and savage groan. The power of doing the right thing at the right moment never served Gordon better than now.

The decisive instant had arrived. One ruffian in the crowd groaned a little louder than his fellows, and quick as a flash of lightning Gordon had him dragged from the ranks, and ordered him to be shot.

The struggle between Individuality and Non-entity had been short, sharp, but decisive. Personality had won in a canter, for within the hour the rest of these valiant mutineers were upon their knees, tendering their submissions, and roaring for mercy.

It was the first—and not the least—of what I may call those campaigns of morality through which, once fully entered on the "glorious path of truth and prosperous virtue," the hero was to guide so many to a fortunate and noble end.

The EVER VICTORIOUS had found their master; and starting from this, their first defeat, they began to deserve their name in the best and highest sense.

Very soon they had opportunity of realising what manner of man their new Commander was. They had seen him, in the act of storming the breach at Taitsan under a very hail of fire, step aside and rescue a tiny Chinese boy from drowning in the moat; and they had seen him drag a desperado

whom they knew from the circle of his friends, and send him to execution. They were rough, reckless characters, but their instinct told them that here was a MAN, and that however unlike others he might be, there was at least a noble justice in his ways.

And when they saw in battle what manner of general he was, is it wonderful that their hearts warmed to him, and they were ready to lay their lives at his feet? How unlike he was to all the commanders they had known! He did not with baton and field-glass command them from a safe and convenient hill: he did not keep in the rear and push them. He was first of the foremost, he was ahead of the front rank cheering them in the fight, and pulling them on to glory. "Victory sat on his helm." And where he led victory was theirs. When wavering in the crash of fire, their spirits flagging on the brink of imminent rout, then would he suddenly appear, unarmed, save with a little bamboo cane, and standing in a tempest of shot and shell, point to the breach and lead them on. The wounded and the dying staggered, screamed, and dropped at his feet; but neither shot nor shell had touched him yet. It was his little cane, they said, that kept him unharmed, and so they crowded round him ready to leap with him into the jaws of death, for they said, "He bears a charmed life. Do you not see his talisman? Look at that little cane. That's his magic wand."

And when the sweat and triumph of the fight were over, and cowed and cast-down prisoners were brought in, how gently he received them, and what mercy and loving-kindness he would heap on them! Numbers of them even joined his ranks and fought loyally at his side. And when these new recruits came to know the veterans of the force, and feel that they were comrades, they told them that the rebels so reverenced Gordon that they had more than once seen the deadly musket pointed at him struck by some chief out of the marksman's hands. This was a grateful recognition of the high part Gordon had played in a dispute with the Imperial Government. It was their custom to behead the rebel prisoners, and even to impale them alive, and he had threatened to throw up his command if this cruelty were persisted in. The savage custom was thenceforth abandoned; and the story of Gordon's mercy to the fallen had not been rumoured abroad in vain.

The following pages tell of much he did during that eventful time: how over an area of 300 miles he swept from point to point; now with his steamers driving the rebels before him across the vast network of water-ways—from lake to lake, and creek to creek, and along interminable canals; now scattering them in the open field; how by his sleepless energy and irresistible skill, he seized their stores, cut their communications,

harried them day and night, and never let them rest; how town after town fell before him till his enemies trembled at the murmur of his name; and how when after four-and-twenty desperate battles he at last was wounded, and even then he would not rest, they tied him in his boat, and seated there, he showed them with his magic wand how they could win their final victory—which they did.

In fifteen months he had accomplished a tremendous task. He had recaptured all the great strongholds; he had broken up the rebellion, and changed the invading army into a cloud of runaways, skulking away in the mountains and the woods. He had saved millions of money; he had saved millions of men and women from famine, torture, and death; ay, he had saved a mighty Empire and a throne. He had written his name across the map of China; and, as long as her dynasty endures, so long will he be held in reverence as the benefactor and the saviour of the race.

The gratitude of the Chinese Government knew no bounds. They loaded Gordon with titles and orders, made him Ti-Tu, and made him Mandarin; gave him the peacock's feather, and set the Imperial tailors to work to sew him a yellow jacket.

Once it came to pass that they sent a procession of long-sleeved train-bearers to his tent, carrying

on their heads bowls full of gold and silver—a gift from the Emperor in recognition of his services.

There are letters of his to show that, though he took the yellow jacket and the peacock's feather, he would on no account have submitted to the proposed donation of money. He had worked for China as a simple soldier's duty, and success was reward enough. The mandarins were thoroughly puzzled with Kotong, as they called him in their barbarous way. They could not make him out, and Prince Kung, the then Regent, paid a special visit to the British Ambassador at Pekin to talk the matter over.

"We don't know what to do about Kotong," he said. "We want to give him some recognition of our everlasting gratitude, but he refuses everything we offer. And we come to ask you to request the Mother of the Full Moon" (by which he is understood to have meant the Queen of England) "to give him some order in his own country, befitting the unbounded service he has done the Empire of the Rising Sun."

Sir Frederick Bruce, whose opinion of Kotong was mandarinesque in thoroughness, transmitted, as in duty bound, the Regent's request to the proper quarter. The Foreign Office appears to have had a different theory of Kotong's achievement, and a different view of Kotong's character. With admirable presence of mind they

pigeon-holed the document at once, and from that time to this it has never seen the light of day.

Now let us look at him on his return from those scenes of triumph.

Avoiding notice, declining to be lionised, he has returned to Gravesend, an insignificant town, to do his duty, and to hide himself away from the empty honours of the world.

His house is large. Behind there is a large garden upon which his sitting-room looked out. There of an evening he sits alone, with his Thomas à Kempis and his Bible.

But in a little while there are visitors, and the empty house is full of bright and happy faces.

And who are these?

Little thieves whom he has waited for, day after day, poor shivering wretches, whom he has rescued from workhouse and hospital.

And now his room is like a school. The little thieves, the outcasts, old and young, are crowded there, listening with upturned face to what the good Colonel says and reads, to his message from the Gospel of Peace.

He has a large garden, and they come and dig, and plant there at will, and bear away their little harvest in due season.

And sometimes in the squalid alleys of the town a knot of ragged figures crouch and peer,

57

craning their necks to catch the words of some one speaking at an open door.

It is the good Colonel, comforting some sorrow-stricken home. And, as he moves away on a new good errand, the crowd divides, and "God bless the Colonel!" is murmured from many hearts.

Then comes a great gloom over the poor and the unfortunate of Gravesend. They have lost their best friend. The Colonel has gone from their midst; gone to do that same engineer's work on the Danube he has done so well on the Thames.

A year after he was at Constantinople, and there he found one of the crises of his fate. He met the famous Nubar Pasha, then Prime Minister of Egypt. Nubar, an Armenian, astute, ambitious, thoroughly unscrupulous, the type of the Vizier, knew Gordon already by repute. The two were not long in coming to an understanding; and there and then the late Captain of the EVER VICTORIOUS ARMY was asked to take over the Soudan for Ismail, the Khedive.

Before the year was out they had struck their bargain, and, on the very day when the death of Livingstone was noised about, Gordon departed—a new Deliverer—to the slave-hunters' paradise, the grief-stricken and desolate Soudan.

The Khedive, with that keen eye to European popularity which was a characteristic of his rule,

was not sorry to enlist the services of so conspicuous a champion of the Christian faith. This vast region had been for years a plague to Egypt. It had been acquired on an impulse of ambition, and instead of being a source of revenue had turned out a source of distraction, danger, and debt. The country was too big to govern, the people too wild to tame. But His Excellency, the Khedive, had been lately visited by a fever of philanthropy; and, like most fevers, it was at first acute and got intermittent afterwards. Ill-natured people said it had a good deal to do with Exeter Hall. This much is certain: it was of the type of fashionable philanthropy; for the sympathies of lords and ladies, and even of Princes of the blood, were enlisted in favour of the unhappy slaves of the Soudan; and, as the suggestion of deliverance came from the land of Egypt, it was warmly taken up in those aristocratic houses in London whence charity loves to plume itself for flight in distant and unknown lands.

So Anti-slavery became the rage; and Anti-slavery appointed an English officer, Sir Samuel Baker, to put down the slave-hunters of equatorial Egypt. Sir Samuel did his duty as far as his limited powers would allow. But Ismail—to show the energy of his new-found zeal — appointed Egyptian officers, and Bashi-Bazouks, and Turks, to help in the good work. And, as these distinguished foreigners thought but little of the virtues

of Anti-slavery and a great deal of the vices and the flesh-pots of Egypt, the position of affairs in 1873, when Gordon took over the province, was very much the same as that of China when he was called in to put down the Heavenly King. Like the Shanghai traders, the Khedive and his sapient counsellors had taken a hint from medical practice, and, thinking that what was good for a sick man was good for an ailing continent, had applied a blister to relieve an irritation.

For, when Gordon arrived as Governor at Khartoum, he found that not only were the slave-hunters in open rebellion against the Divan at Cairo; but even the poor, harmless, and oppressed tribesmen themselves were filled with hatred and suspicion of philanthropic rule—its plots and extortioners, its emissaries and its intrigues. The fact is, these distinguished foreigners—these officials, Egyptians, Turks, and Bashi-Bazouks—had been grinding the face of the people, and robbing them to the very bone; had been levying taxes, imposing fines, and playing the favourite and abominable game of *backsheesh* all round. Thus, when Gordon appeared among the victims, their first feeling was that he had come, not to give, but to take away; that he was, in fact, another of those swaggering, bullying, iron-hearted messengers of peace already inflicted upon them by the pragmatical pashas at Cairo.

They showered spears and arrows upon him

as he sailed with his retinue along the Nile; they watched and waited for him in ambush in the tall grass. But he, to their surprise and to the terror of his staff, when halting in the lonely wilderness, would take chair and table into the jungle, and there—where before a hundred armed men dared never penetrate—he would sit alone, unarmed and unconcerned, and write his letters and transact the business of his office. Before such valour and such confidence they would hold back amazed, wondering at the daring of the white man, who, come to oppress them, yet placed his life in their hands; and, creeping from their lairs, they would stealthily approach him, touch his clothes, and kiss his feet. The fact is, what he was aiming to do was to inspire these down-trodden races with perfect trust; and this he knew could not be done with a six-shooter and a regulation bayonet, so he used his personality instead.

He had been advised to take an army with him; but it was with a comparatively insignificant staff that he ran a military road from Cairo to the Victoria and Albert Nyanza, a distance of 3000 miles, and placed English built steamers upon those legendary waters.

How on his journey thither, plodding along almost impassable shoals, tramping through thicket and jungle, camping in fever-tainted marsh, he cared for the welfare of the tribes, drove off and punished

their persecutors, and safe-guarded their future, is a story all the details of which we shall never know. It was Gravesend on a larger scale. He amused them, nursed them, chided them; he taught them how to sow and reap, how to barter and exchange, how to make pots and pans—a score of little arts to brighten and improve their lives. To the common philanthropist they were but the scum of the desert, the dregs and refuse of humanity; to him they were the children of God!

The condition of the province was simply hideous. Gordon used to tell the story of how, when Said Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt before Ismail, went up to the Soudan, so scandalised was he at the misery of the people, that he flung his guns into the Nile, and foreswore oppression.

It was in this same spirit that Gordon went to Khartoum, and in this spirit he expressed his views on the duties of foreigners in the service of Oriental States. His ardent and unstudied words deserve the deepest study. They breathe the kindliest wisdom, the most prudent philanthropy; and it would be well if those whose lot is thrown in barbarous lands would take those words for a constant guide.

"To accept government only if by so doing you benefit the race you rule; to lead, not drive the people to a higher civilisation; to establish only such reforms as represent the spontaneous desire of the mass; to resist other governments, and keep

intact the sovereignty of the State whose bread you eat; to represent the native when advising Ameer, Sultan, or Khedive on any question which your own or any Foreign Government may wish solved; and in this to have for prop and guide that which is universally right throughout the world, that which is best for the people of the State you serve."

Such were Gordon's sentiments when he first entered on his task.

Never, perhaps, in the history of civilisation were the ideals of justice and truth more needed than here. Seven-eighths of the population of the Soudan were slaves; the country swarmed with man-hunters and man-dealers; and the district governors, greedy for pelf, aided and abetted in the trade. So sullen were the tribesmen that their hand was against all men; so destitute that they were ready and willing to barter their own flesh and blood for cattle or for grain. Their flocks and herds, like their children, had been stolen. To sow they were afraid, for governors and slavers would not suffer them to reap. And, besides all this, each man was his neighbour's deadly enemy, and all were at the mercy of the warlike chieftains of the lakes, and the convoys of Arab gaol-birds transported by Egypt to make these lands still more hideous.

Upon this wild anarchy of suffering and oppression the new pro-consul came, not as a sword, but

as the very genius of beneficence. His activity was indefatigable; he was judge and lawgiver, soldier and statesman and administrator in a breath; and such was the inspiration of his energy, that the memory of it has grown into a legend, and for many a year to come the wild tribesmen will talk of him about their camp-fires as of an avenging angel sent to redress their wrongs. Old African travellers were dumbfounded by his energy and endurance, and his escort toiled after him in vain. He broke up the slave-trade through the length and breadth of the Soudan, till the hunters became the hunted, and catching fire from his example, his lieutenant, Romulus Gessi, so harried and drove and overcame them that the story of his march and of the series of combats he imposed upon them is almost as exciting as that of Gordon's own great feats of war.

Far more picturesque and romantic in its circumstances; but, it may be, less wonderful in itself, and less beneficent in effect, is the story of his ride into the robbers' haunt at Shaka. He was in the heart of a hostile country, with a worthless guard, when he heard that at Shaka, eighty miles away, Suleiman, the son of Zebehr, whose power he had broken and whose ruin he had accomplished, had pitched his camp of 3000 desperadoes, to each one of whom his murder was a matter not only of duty, but of everlasting honour.

Without an hour's delay he started for the scene of danger; he outrode his escort as usual; he arrived—"a red-faced man, covered with flies," as he describes himself—at the faithful little town of Dara alone, unarmed, and exhausted. In the night his men came in; and at dawn the next morning, says he, "I got up, and putting on the golden armour the Khedive gave me, went out to see my troops, and then mounted my horse, and with an escort of my robbers of Bashi-Bazouks rode out to see the *other* robbers, three miles off." He was met by Suleiman, the son of Zebehr; he rode through the camp; he went straight to Suleiman's tent, sat down in the place of honour, drank a glass of water, and commanded the assembled chiefs, "who were dumfounded at his coming," to attend him to his divan. They came; and, says he, "in choice Arabic I gave them my ideas." They were to submit at once, or he would disarm and break them up. He said it, and he meant it, and they knew he would keep his word. There was a blood-feud between him and them; they could have eaten up his escort at a meal, and then asked for more. But they submitted without a murmur; and Suleiman himself, whom he was afterwards obliged to shoot, became the humblest of his slaves. One pictures the scene with a certain wonder. The circle of white-robed and turbaned ruffians awe-stricken and abashed; the blue-eyed Englishman, radiant in his golden armour, more radiant in the panoply of his own incomparable personality! There

is nothing like it in the history of human valour.

Ismail, the Khedive, had many faults; but his sins may be forgiven him, for he loved Gordon much, and believed in him; and so long as he reigned at Cairo he backed his Governor-General through thick and thin. His deposition was a godsend to the slave-hunters; for it was followed in the winter of 1879 by Gordon's resignation, and, as matter of course, by the reinstatement of the Bashi-Bazouk, the reintroduction of the religion of backsheesh, and the instant relapse into anarchy of all the provinces of the Soudan.

A hero without a mission, a knight-errant dismounted and unarmed, Gordon has little opportunity for the next few years of the sort of endeavour in which his soul delighted. He goes to India with Lord Ripon. Then come rumours of impending war between Russia and China. He remembers that he is a mandarin of the first class as well as a British officer; he leaves Calcutta for Pekin; he is still the renowned Kotong —the Kotong of the Ever Victorious Army and the great campaign about Shanghai; and again he saves the Brother of the Rising Sun from disaster, and, not content with that, safeguards him for the future, by sketching him out a practical military system, and establishing the foundations of a national army.

We find him doing his work at the Mauritius,

It is a far cry from Basutoland to Palestine, but it is Gordon's next stage, and at the Holy City he surveys the site of the Temple of Solomon, the son of David, and reconstitutes its glories in a manner satisfying to the officer of Engineers and the student of the Word. Meanwhile there is work preparing for him in Africa. The King of the Belgians has his eye upon the Congo; he thinks that only Gordon is worthy of that great adventure, and in the twinkling of an eye the scene shifts from Jerusalem to Brussels. There is hope for Eastern Africa, for Gordon has undertaken to plant a colony there, and who dares waver and doubt when the knight-errant of Christianity is to the front?

The hour of triumph was indeed at hand, but it was triumph in another service, and over another and a greater foe. Every one remembers the startling news of November 1883, how Hicks Pasha and his army, 11,000 strong, had been cut off to a man by the Mahdi, in the waterless wastes of Kordofan, and every one remembers the thrill of terror that news sent through all Egypt. For what did the disaster mean? It meant that the 30,000 Egyptian men, women, and children in the Soudan would be massacred or taken into bondage. It meant that the Mahdi, triumphant in Mahomed's name, would cross the borders of Egypt proper, and plant the standard of the Prophet in Alexandria and Cairo themselves. And what was

least realised at the moment, that if the Mahdi did triumph over Egypt, and the beleaguered garrisons were left to their fate, it meant England's peril and England's humiliation.

It was a dark hour for the world; but if the dark hour had come, there also was the Man. The Cabinets of London and Cairo were stricken even into panic and insanity. They went so far as to raise the cry of abandonment, and secretly propose the desertion of the Soudan and all the loyal subjects in their service to the tender mercies of a fanatical impostor, whose religion was mere massacre in action, and whose impulse was that of all the savages of equatorial Africa. The policy seemed incredible, till the resignation of Cherif Pasha's Ministry put incredulity to the rout. But the cry of indignation that arose had not been altogether in vain, for it converted the policy of pure abandonment into one of "Rescue and retire." There was not much in the phrase, except a bid for the baser sort of popularity. But it did signify that at least an attempt would be made to withdraw the deserted garrisons before the Soudan was given over to Mahdiism.

But then came the vital question, Who should relieve the garrisons? Who should answer the cry for help that came in this message from the servants at Khartoum to the master at Cairo?

The cry was exceeding bitter. "We implore you to give orders for our retreat, as one-third of the

troops are disaffected and cannot be depended on, even for maintaining order in the town. With twice their number we could not resist an attack." The answer was delayed amid the slow and feeble *pourparlers* of ministers, the chatter of irresponsible frivolity in the clubs, and the vain wranglings of the Press. But when that answer came at last it fell like a bomb-shell into the London world. "Chinese Gordon, accompanied only by Colonel Stewart, has left, at a few hours' notice, on a mission to Khartoum." As I have said, the hour had come; and here—a world in himself—here was the Man.

His mission is the most romantic and daring adventure of modern times. There were but a few at Charing Cross to bid him God-speed, for scarce any knew of his departure, though he held the honour of England and the safety of Egypt in his hand. At Cairo his reception was almost that of a divine deliverer, and when, with Stewart at his side, he disappeared into the desert on that tremendous ride of his, such prayers were put up for him, from hearth and pulpit, as I think have been breathed for no other hero of our time. It was the old quarrel of Christendom against the heathen, and we hailed him as the knight-errant of the Cross, as the messenger of Heaven with tidings of hope for thousands of despairing men. At Khartoum his reception showed that in him the people saw their salvation. It had been a city of despair; it was

changed into a city of rejoicing. The streets were ablaze with illuminations, and were thronged with confident and hopeful faces; and as he passed through their midst, they crowded about him to kiss his hands and salute him as the saviour of Kordofan.

"I come without soldiers, but with God on my side," he said, "to redress the evils of this land. I will not fight with any weapons but justice."

Then, summoning his henchmen, he held a levee of rich and poor alike. He listened to all complaints. He ordered all implements of torture, all gags and chains and whips, to be heaped up and burned outside the palace gates. He threw open the doors of the prison, at sundown he ordered it to be set on fire, and far into the night the people danced and sang and laughed around the blaze. He had come as a Messenger of Peace, and as a Messenger of Peace he set about his work. It was the triumph of expediency; but there were wiser heads at home, and we know—to our everlasting shame—we know what happened.

Yes: we know what happened.

Then came that long series of national humiliations: his appeals to the English Government, and the English Government's rejection of his appeals. It is a sickening subject; and you must forgive me if, as an Englishman, I hurry over it as quickly as I can. In his matchless capacity of resource he found device after device; and the

Ministry on whose errand he had come forbade them one and all. Ten times he spoke and said Will you? And ten times the Gladstone Government said, "No: we will not;" and Gordon, leaving to his official superiors the "indelible disgrace" of abandoning him and the 30,000 he had been sent to save, set his face to the worst and prepared to die as became an Englishman and a soldier.

The Gladstone Ministry had been idle; the False Prophet had not. His army, swelled as it came on by all the fighting strength of the Soudan, had swept northwards like a flood, and was now thundering at the gates of Khartoum. The city was half starved; there were traitors in the camp; and Gordon was alone. For Stewart and Power, his faithful lieutenants, had been murdered, on a forlorn hope to wake up the Ministry; to wake up the whole Empire; to wake up the civilised world to a sense of England's humiliation and England's shame. He was taken as in a trap. Treachery, famine, death were staring him in the face; from his palace roof he could see far off the Mahdi's hordes (like deepening clouds) come on, on, still on; but God was on his side; England's honour was in his keeping; he knew no more than Nelson the meaning of the word "fear;" and with the energy of faith he set to work for England and his people. It is in the adaptation of means to an end that genius is most triumphantly ex-

pressed; and never—I may say it with all confidence —*never* had genius a more difficult end to achieve, a poorer means to adapt to its achievement; never was Gordon's almost superhuman fertility of resource —a fertility so astonishing that, when even hope was lost, I heard no less a man than Sir Richard Burton declare that it was impossible that Gordon could be dead—displayed to such magnificent and amazing purpose. Gordon was heart and brain to the town, and in a very little while the town was armed for defence.

Mines were contrived, torpedoes were set, entanglements of wire and broken glass were laid down; a fleet of steamers patrolled the Nile; the poor were fed; the town was rationed; every citizen was called upon to bear arms; and for ten long months the Mahdi, foiled at every turn, beaten in every encounter, was a doubt unto his followers, a byword among men. For ten long months Khartoum was, as it were, the heart of Christendom, and Gordon the most conspicuous figure in the world. The False Prophet had with him the fanaticism of a country almost as large as the Continent of Europe; but against him he had the faith, the constancy, the genius of Charles Gordon; and when at last the end came, and the False Prophet entered the city, it was found that he had purchased opportunity, and that a handful of gold had done more for his cause than he and his 300,000 fighters had been able to accomplish with

cold steel. That such an end should come was from the first inevitable. The Gladstone Government had been shamed into an appearance of generosity; and while Gordon—ever cheerful, ever confident, ever faithful in the service of his Divine Master—was making the defence of Khartoum immortal in history with those of Jerusalem and Saragossa, Lord Wolseley was dragging an army up the Nile, and fighting his way inch by inch across the desert to his relief.

Man proposes and God disposes. Mr. Gladstone had delayed a little too long for England and the cause of Christ; and when, after the bloody battles of Abu Klea and Metemmeh, the English sighted the Nile once more, the great siege was over, and Sir Charles Wilson and his handful of heroes ran the gauntlet to Khartoum. Mr. Gladstone and the Mahdi had done their work too well; Khartoum had fallen. The long, heroic agony was at an end. And Gordon—shot down in the street, his body bleaching on a sand-heap, his head a trophy on the gate—Gordon, the great soldier, the citizen of England, the champion of helpless and suffering humanity, had gone to his rest in the bosom of that merciful and just God whose gift to us he was, and in whose service he had lived and hoped to die.

"I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith." I love to believe that he died with these words upon his lips. I am

glad and proud to think that, while England is England, his example will endure, and that centuries hence some men will be the better for his agony and death.

A. E. H.

CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN POWERS DURING THE TAEPING REBELLION

In adverting to the Taeping movement during a debate in the House of Commons[1] Lord Naas declared that in his opinion the chief cause of the rebellion had been our interference with the affairs of China. The English had in 1842 inflicted a dreadful blow on the Manchus; for the two provincial garrisons of Chapu and Chinkiang had been defeated and almost destroyed with an ease that had shaken their own confidence in the prowess and destiny of their race, and had completely dispelled its prestige of military power in the eyes of the subject Chinese. And then the great costs of the struggle, of which the twenty-seven millions of dollars paid to the British at its close was but a small moiety, plunged the Government into irremediable financial difficulties. The sale of Government posts was carried on more extensively, and corruption, tyranny, disaffection, robbery, piracy, local insurrectionary risings, misgovernment in short, and no government, prevailed more than

1840-42.

7th July 1863.

ever up to 1850, when the "Kwangse rebellion" broke out.[1]

This indication of the downward course of the Manchu Dynasty, after the British war, soon became still more apparent. The very unfair proportion of Manchus employed in Government posts was a deviation from the fundamental principle of Chinese polity; and, as might be expected, it constantly nourished a feeling of dissatisfaction among the Chinese, which, though they were obliged to be at some pains to conceal it, occasionally escaped them. The selling of Government posts, carried to excess, was dangerous in the highest degree for the Government. Hitherto the dread of the more warlike Manchus had been sufficient to repress or prevent the general rising of a peace-loving people. "If the practice of selling offices be continued" (Mr. Meadows wrote in June 1846) "in the extent to which it is at present carried, nothing is more likely, now that the prestige of Manchu power in war has received a severe shock in the late encounters with the English, than that a Chinese Belisarius will arise and extirpate or drive into Tartary the Manchu garrisons and bannermen, who, during a residence in China twice as long as the Vandals in Africa have greatly deteriorated in the military virtues, while they still retain enough of the insolence of conquerors to gain themselves the hatred of the

[1] Meadows's *Chinese and their Rebellions.*

Chinese." In another letter, dated 25th January 1849, and addressed to a gentleman who had occupied an eminent position in China, he further observed that "there was a great need of able men at the head of affairs," and that the country was entering on a period of insurrection and anarchy that "must end sooner or later in the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty." For five years previous to this period robberies by bands of men, often numbering hundreds, had become gradually more common, while the sale, not of titles merely, but of offices, had been gradually increasing. In fact, everything seemed hastening to a worse state, and any active principle of conservation that might stop the downward career was looked for in vain.

As far back as the year 1840 it had been laid down as absolutely necessary, in order to preserve harmony between the two nations, that a direct communication with the Government at Pekin should be agreed upon. But the persistent and ever-ready literary skill of the mandarins completely baffled such views, and the "foreigner" was constantly reminded that the "great and all-powerful Sovereign" looked upon all matters of trade and diplomatic relations as not worth a moment's consideration. In fact, the Emperor and his ministers were kept in complete ignorance of the character and capacity of Europeans. "The Viceroy of Canton," as Mr. Boulger shows in his

History of China, "as long as he avoided an absolute rupture, might pursue the most dictatorial course he pleased; the more dictatorial it was, the greater emphasis with which he dwelt on the inferiority of the outer barbarians, the nearer would it accord with the traditional claims of the Chinese ruler. There was grave danger in such an arrangement, no matter who the Viceroy might be, but it became perceptibly greater when the wielder of that authority happened to be a zealot such as Lin, a truculent minister like Su, or a boaster as in the case of Yeh."

In 1848 Mr. Bonham's proposition that the Viceroy at Canton should place some of his subordinates in communication with the secretaries at Hongkong had been curtly declined. It was followed in a few months by the shelving of the question of opening the gates of Canton. "As to entrance into the city," the Viceroy declared, "since the various nations have traded in Canton none of the officers or merchants of their respective countries had ever any business requiring their going into the city. When our Government concluded a treaty of peace with your honourable nation no entrance into the city was stipulated.[1] Natives and foreigners lived previously peacefully together, and the commerce was in a flourishing condition, when, however, the entrance into the city became subsequently a subject of discussion,

[1] After the War of 1841-42.

all the inhabitants entertained fears and suspicions; the merchants were on this account hampered, and their trade gradually dwindled away. The late Imperial Commissioner Keying, therefore, ordered some deputed officers and the local authorities to take proper steps for quieting the populace, and fortunately no disturbance ensued. If we now again enter upon the previous consultations about it the public will, as before, feel fear and annoyance, goods will become unsaleable, and very great obstacles accrue to trade." In this document there is not a single reference to the pledge given by Keying that the gates should be opened in April 1849. The position of the English Government on the question was diametrically opposed to that taken up by the Canton Yamen. With the former the question of right of entrance into Canton was only in abeyance until the favourable moment arrived to enforce it; and Lord Palmerston laid down this view very clearly in his despatches to the Governor of Hongkong. At the same time Lord Palmerston and Sir George Bonham were most anxious to avoid all occasion of serious disagreement with China. In the interest of peace itself they were desirous to obtain the fulfilment of the pledges made by the responsible Chinese officials. They never failed to realise that the objections of the Canton Viceroy to execute what he was bound to perform arose from a dislike to the whole transaction, and not from inability to

coerce the populace and to afford protection to foreigners; and if the true meaning of the difficulties, which presently occurred, is to be mastered, a consideration of these early disputes between the Viceroy and the representatives of the English Government is not to be avoided. These disputes, as Mr. Boulger has clearly demonstrated, did not arise out of a single occurrence, but from a chain of events, and opposite readings of accepted obligations, which followed the refusal in 1849 of the Viceroy Su to carry out the promise of Keying to open the gates of Canton.

The question still remained unsettled when Sir George Bonham returned to Europe on leave
1852. in 1852, and was temporarily succeeded by Dr. John Bowring, who had officiated for a short period as Consul at Canton. In the autumn of the previous year the rebels had shown a disposition, under Tien Wang, to make a dash upon Canton, and in reply to Dr. Bowring's expressed desire for an opportunity of paying his personal respects to the high officials with "a view of arranging such matters as remained unsettled," the Viceroy's answer was to compliment him on his appointment, but at the same time to express a wish that the interview should be postponed until "the hostilities against the rebels had been triumphantly concluded." Dr. Bowring accepted the excuse, and more than two years passed by before the question of an interview was resumed.

During this time a large Taeping naval force had started for the west to collect supplies, while their northern army was marching boldly on Pekin. Meanwhile Dr. Bowring was knighted, and received 1854.
full powers as Governor of Hongkong in succession to Sir George Bonham, and the Viceroy Su's place was taken at Canton by his former subordinate Yeh.

After his definite appointment Sir John Bowring's first step was to notify to Viceroy Yeh that it was desirable that there should be "free and unrestricted intercourse with the Chinese officials, and admission into some of the cities of China, especially Canton." The chief Chinese official's reply was not encouraging. He again reverted to the Taeping rebellion, and stated that the "management of the military arrangements in the different parts of the province occupied the whole of his time and left him no opportunity to name a day."[1] In his extreme distress Yeh presently applied to the English representative, if not for assistance, at least for co-operation against the rebels. Sir John Bowring proceeded to Canton, where his acts made it clear that his only intention was to restrict himself to the performance of his duty which was to protect English interests. From him, therefore, Yeh could expect no direct support. The Consuls issued a joint notice proclaiming their strict neutrality and their firm intention to protect the lives and property of their subjects against all attacks,

[1] Boulger's *History of China.*

whether from the Taepings or the Imperialists. On his arrival Sir John Bowring went over the foreign settlement with the naval officer in order to arrange for its defence. When the Viceroy discovered that the only result of his overtures was to induce the Europeans to encroach on Chinese rights for the purpose of guarding their own, he assumed the tone that the rebellion was on the eve of being put down, and that the foreigners had consequently nothing to fear, as he was quite able to afford them protection.

Yeh's success over the insurgents now inspired him with increased confidence, and rendered him less than ever disposed to make the smallest concession to the English. Mr. Rutherford Alcock, who had been temporarily transferred from Shanghai to Canton, reported many acts of obstruction on the part of the mandarins, and called attention to the many difficulties he experienced in communicating
1855. with them. In June 1855, Sir John Bowring returned to the subject of official interviews, and made an explicit demand for the reception, if not of himself, then at least of the new Consul. After a month's delay Commissioner Yeh replied that there was no precedent for an interview with a Consul, and that Sir John having refused his former appointment to meet him outside the city there was an end to the matter.[1] Still, although tranquillity was restored,

[1] "While inviting the Chinese Commissioner to an interview (in the early part of 1854), Sir John Bowring had stated that there could be only one mode of reception, viz. within the city of Canton at the official yamen or residence of the Viceroy."—Boulger's *History of China.*

the Viceroy went on to say that the movement of troops against the Taepings occupied the whole of his time and left him no leisure for unnecessary interviews and discussions. It was then that Sir John Bowring wrote that "until the city question at Canton is settled, there is little hope of our relations being placed on anything like a satisfactory foundation." On the 8th of October 1856 Mr. Harry 1856. Parkes, who had taken Mr. Alcock's place as Consul at Canton, reported to Sir John Bowring at Hongkong the facts in connection with an outrage which had been committed on a British-owned lorcha[1] at Canton. The lorcha *Arrow*, employed in the river trade between Canton and the mouth of the river, commanded by an English captain and flying the English flag, had been boarded by a party of mandarins. The crew, with the exception of two men, left at their request to take care of the boat, was carried off by the Chinese, and the English flag was hauled down,

This was the origin of the second conflict with England. And during the ensuing struggle with foreign powers the Taepings were doubly active in their hostilities against the Imperialists. Viceroy Yeh had refused all apology, maintaining that some of the crew were pirates: and Sir John Bowring ultimately decided in consultation with Admiral Seymour that "the most judicious measures of compulsion" to be adopted would be

[1] A special kind of fast-sailing boat used on the Canton river.

"the seizure of the defences of the city of Canton."[1] In pursuance of this policy, on the 23d October Admiral Seymour took possession of the four Barrier Forts, Blenheim Fort, and Macao Fort, without loss and scarce a semblance of resistance. On the 25th the Island and Fort of Dutch Folly were taken and occupied without opposition. Still the High Commissioner remained obdurate. His residence was then bombarded. The first shot was fired from the ten-inch pivot gun of the *Encounter*, and at intervals of from five to ten minutes the fire was kept up from that gun till sunset. The *Barraconta* at the same time shelled the troops on the hills behind Gough's Fort in the rear of the city from a position she had taken up in rear of Sulphur Creek. Yeh now offered a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman.

The afternoon of the following day, from noon to sunset, was occupied in firing at slow time upon the houses opposite Dutch Folly, the inhabitants having been warned to evacuate them.[2] The Yamen

[1] "Had there been no *Arrow* incident at all, the attack on the Europeans, the refusal to hold diplomatic intercourse on terms of equality—the whole tenour, in short, of Yeh's policy and attitude—rendered the outbreak of war sooner or later a matter that was inevitable. . . . The Chinese Viceroy had the command of peace and war in his own hands. At the time, and at any point during the three months, he had only to say the word to ensure peace and the cessation of hostilities. That he did not say it must be attributed to his own blind obstinacy, while the presence of such a man in authority at Canton at so critical a moment must be reckoned among the many misfortunes which China has from time to time suffered since her foreign relations first became a matter of prime importance."—Boulger's *History of China.*

[2] Laurence Oliphant's *Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan.*

of the Imperial Commissioner was distant about 150 yards from the river bank. By the afternoon of the 29th inst. a breach had been effected at this spot, which was visited by the Admiral with a force of marines and blue jackets. The Chinese offered some resistance, killing three and wounding eleven of our men. For the three following days desultory firing was kept up in the town, and a large part of the suburb was destroyed by fire, but not intentionally. On the 1st of November the Admiral again addressed Yeh, who rejoined in a letter "recapitulating his former correspondence." The Admiral accordingly recommenced operations, pulled down some Chinese houses to secure the factory position, and bombarded the public buildings for several days consecutively, during which time French Folly was taken and twenty-three war-junks were destroyed by the *Barraconta*, with a loss of one killed and four wounded. Another communication was also made to the Commissioner, who seemed to gain confidence from the frequency of these missives, for he answered curtly, and entered upon a vigorous course of retaliatory measures. Having neither armies nor fleets to cope with ours, he made war upon us in a desultory way eminently harassing. Our ships in the river narrowly escaped destruction from fire-rafts; night attacks were made upon them; passenger steamers and foreign vessels were fired upon indiscriminately. An incidental result was an insult to the American flag, which was fired on from the Barrier Forts,

which had been re-armed. As a measure of retaliation these were taken and destroyed by Commodore Armstrong of the United States Navy. Here the matter ended. The insult offered to the flag was thought to have been sufficiently avenged. The reward for "barbarian" heads was now raised from thirty to one hundred taels. On the 22d November the French flag was struck at Canton. On the 4th December French Folly, having been re-occupied and strengthened by the Chinese, was retaken with a loss of two killed and several wounded. A few shells were still occasionally thrown into the city, and on the 14th the Admiral stated that he felt confident that "the measures which had been taken would prove successful." The next day Chinese incendiaries burnt down the whole of the foreign factories. The Admiral now entrenched himself in the factory gardens and garrisoned the fortified position with a force of 300 men.

Meanwhile Yeh carried on the war in his own peculiar fashion with greater vigour than
1857. ever. On the 4th January 1857 the Chinese attacked the ships about Macao Fort in force, and sunk junks in one of the neighbouring passages, and also nearly succeeded in blowing up one of our ships with explosive machines. The Admiral at last decided upon applying to his Excellency the Governor-General of India for the assistance of 5000 troops. He subsequently found himself compelled to abandon Bird's Nest Fort (30th

January 1857), which he had intended to hold as his advanced post, and, withdrawing the garrison he had placed there retained only Macao Fort. To evacuate the river entirely—and this course was even contemplated—was strongly urged upon the Admiral by some of his advisers. But fortunately bolder counsels prevailed.

It was now too late to consider whether the *Arrow* claim was just or unjust.[1] A continuation of this state of affairs would not only injure our colony, impair our prestige, embarrass us in our relations with neutral powers, and imperil our commerce at all the other ports of the Empire, but materially increase the difficulties in the way of any negotiations which might be attempted directly with the Court at Pekin.

The Chinese question now emerged from its position of comparative unimportance into one of almost national magnitude; and it was thought desirable to send an accredited ambassador of high rank

[1] Sir John Bowring said in his despatch of February 1857: "I have the comfort of believing that notwithstanding the losses, privations, sufferings, and disquietudes which these events have produced, there exists an almost unanimity of opinion among her Majesty's subjects in China as to the opportunity and necessity of the measures that have been taken, and a conviction that the crisis which has occurred was an inevitable one; while the councils of the Canton authorities were directed by such intolerance, pride, presumption, faithlessness, and ignorance as they have long exhibited. And it has greatly added to my gratification to know that the representatives of foreign Powers in China have generally concurred in approving of the course which has been pursued." When Sir John Bowring made the last statement he no doubt had in his mind a recent despatch of the American plenipotentiary to Yeh, at Canton: "The fountain of all difficulties between China and foreign nations is the unwillingness of China to acknowledge England, France, America, and other nations of the west as her equals and true friends, and to treat them accordingly."

to China, who was fully acquainted with the views of the Home Government, in order to convince the Pekin authorities that, "while such acts as those of Yeh at Canton would not be tolerated, there was no desire to press with undue harshness on a country traditionally opposed to external intercourse." The choice fell upon Lord Elgin.[1] Meanwhile preparations were made to meet Sir Michael Seymour's wish that an armed force should be despatched to Hongkong.

Fifteen hundred men were sent to Singapore from England, one regiment was ordered from the Mauritius, a considerable detachment of native troops were to be moved from Madras, and such force as could be spared from Singapore had already

[1] Lord Elgin's instructions were conveyed in two despatches dated 20th April 1857. The following extracts are from the Blue Book on Lord Elgin's mission, 1857-59: "The demands which you are instructed to make will be—(1), for reparations of injuries to British subjects, and, if the French officers should co-operate with you, for those to French subjects also; (2), for the complete execution at Canton, as well as at the other ports, of the stipulations of the several treaties; (3), compensation to British subjects and persons entitled to British protection for losses incurred in consequence of the late disturbances; (4), the assent of the Chinese Government to the residence at Pekin, or to the occasional visit to that capital, at the option of the British Government, of a Minister duly accredited by the Queen to the Emperor of China, and the recognition of the right of the British Plenipotentiary and Chief Superintendent of Trade to communicate directly in writing with the high officers at the Chinese capital, and to send his communications by messengers of his own selection, such arrangements affording the best means of ensuring the due execution of the existing treaties, and of preventing future misunderstandings; (5), a revision of the treaties with China with a view to obtaining increased facilities for commerce, such as access to cities on the great rivers, as well as to Chapu and to other ports on the coast, and also permission for Chinese vessels to resort to Hongkong for purposes of trade from all ports of the Chinese Empire without distinction."

been despatched to Hongkong. General Ashburnham was appointed to the military command of the China expedition. These vigorous measures could not have failed to effect a prompt settlement of the complications with China had they been carried out to their natural and expected conclusion. But at the very moment when there seemed every reason to hope that the prompt manifestation of English power would induce the Pekin Government to repudiate the acts of Yeh, and to conform its policy to the provisions of the treaty, an untoward event of the deepest significance interrupted these proceedings. On Lord Elgin's arrival at Singapore he found a pressing letter from Lord Canning, the Governor-General of India, urging him to alter the course of the Chinese expedition from Hongkong to Calcutta, as a military insurrection had broken out in the North-West Provinces. Consequently the China expedition was diverted to India, where the regiments that were to have brought Commissioner Yeh to his senses rendered good service at Cawnpore and Lucknow.

In the meantime events of considerable importance had occurred on the Canton river. Towards the end of May Sir Michael Seymour had assumed the offensive against the large fleet of war-junks collected on the river above the city—a fleet which, it was currently reported, was intended to drive the "barbarians" back to the sea. The task of destroying the junks was entrusted to Commodore Elliot

who proceeded up Escape Creek. The English expedition consisted of five gunboats with the manned galleys of three of the larger men-of-war. A short distance up the creek they found a number of junks drawn in a line across the stream, and as each of these vessels, forty-one in number, carried a gun of heavy calibre, in addition to many smaller pieces of artillery, the position of the Chinese force was far from being one that could be attacked without some consideration. After some protracted firing the Chinese broke and fled. They were closely pursued, first by the gunboats and then, when those had grounded, by the rowing boats. Twenty-seven junks were destroyed either by the English or by their own crews. The operations were renewed on the following days in the adjoining creeks, and the pursuit was maintained with such energy that Commodore Elliot had the satisfaction of surprising the remaining junks at anchor off an inland town called Tungkoon. The Chinese did not attempt to defend their boats against the impetuous onslaught of the assailants; but from the walls and houses of the town they opened a troublesome fire, which greatly annoyed the English, and caused them some loss. But the loss to the Chinese navy was immense; it was a rude blow to Yeh and his satellites. But this expedition to Escape Creek was only the preliminary to a still more serious undertaking. The town of Fatshan, west of Canton and six miles distant, had been made the

principal centre of the warlike preparations by means of which Yeh counted on establishing the wisdom of his policy and his own reputation as the national champion. Having learnt of the complete success of Commodore Elliot's operations in his rear, Sir Michael Seymour resolved, from his bases at the Macao Fort and in the Blenheim passage, upon making a forward movement into the upper reach of the river, known at the time as the Fatshan channel. On the 29th May he hoisted his flag on the *Coromandel* steamer, an insignificant vessel. At the same time the gunboats and larger ships were ordered to collect near the entrance to the Fatshan branch of the river. These numbered in all about twenty vessels. At Macao Fort, where 250 marines held an enclosure surrounding a three-cornered pagoda, the final arrangements were made for the attack on the Chinese position in the Fatshan channel. That position was exceptionally strong, and had been selected with unusual military judgment. An island, called the Hyacinth, lies in mid-stream, two miles from the entrance to this branch, which joins the main course of the Sikiang a few miles above Fatshan. It is flat, and presents no special feature for defence. Yet it enabled the Chinese to draw up a line of junks across the two channels of the river, while a battery of six guns on the island itself served to connect the two divisions of warships with each other. The junks to the number of seventy-two were placed so that their

stern guns were pointed towards any proceeding up stream, while their prows were conveniently placed for retreat to Fatshan, if flight became necessary. A steep hill on the left bank had been crowned with a battery of nineteen guns, and this position, strong at all points, being precipitous on one side, was deemed impregnable to attack. Other batteries had been erected along shore, and when it is remembered that each junk carried in addition to a large gun several smaller cannon, it does not seem an exaggeration to say that there were more than 300 pieces of artillery and some 10,000 men engaged in holding a position which had been admirably chosen and carefully strengthened. On the 1st of June an attack was made on this formidable position. Sir Michael Seymour headed the advance in the *Coromandel* with boats in tow having 300 marines on board. Six gunboats or small steamers followed with the boats and crews of all the larger vessels of the fleet. They were received by the Chinese with a tremendous fire from junks, batteries, and forts, under which the marines were landed and ordered to attack and carry the battery on the hill. A few shots were rolled on the climbers, some stink-pots were thrown, and then the garrison slowly retired as the Englishmen streamed over the sides of their fortress.[1]

Commodore Keppel, the hero of the hour,

[1] Wingrove Cook, Special Correspondent for the *Times*, has given a graphic account of the battle of Fatshan.

had determined on the capture of Fatshan as the way to complete the discomfiture of the enemy. After four miles' hard rowing the large island which is immediately outside the town of Fatshan was reached. Here the Chinese had made preparations for defence scarcely less formidable than those at Hyacinth island, while the position presented greater natural difficulties of attack. The fire of the Chinese batteries was described as tremendous at the short range of a quarter of a mile. Keppel's own galley was pierced by several successive shots and reduced to a sinking condition. That officer had to abandon it, and some of his best officers were killed. Three of his boats were aground, one was sunk; there was no choice save to halt in the advance, if only for a breathing-space. The gongs from the Chinese junks sounded the premonitory notes of triumph; but their rejoicings were premature. Thinking they had checked the attack, and becoming aware of the full extent of the disaster to their comrades lower down, the junks quitted their anchorage and prepared to retire up the narrow channel to Fatshan. The movement was perceived in time; the English boats closed upon them once more, and the action was renewed. The firing on both sides continued furiously, another English boat was sunk, but the Chinese lost still more heavily. They sacrificed the chance of victory when they took to flight, and junk after junk was given to the flames, or, abandoned by its crew, be-

came the prize of the conquerors. The men of Fatshan turned out along the banks to oppose the enemy and to prevent the five junks being carried off. But they fared no better than their comrades on the water; and Keppel returned reluctantly with his force and rejoined the Admiral. He had wished to hold Fatshan and put it to ransom; but Sir Michael Seymour prudently forbade the adventure.[1]

When Lord Elgin, therefore, reached Hongkong, the first serious operation of England's second war with China had been carried out. The Imperial fleet on the Canton river had been destroyed. The next question was, What was the best way to set to work in order to obtain the reopening of the Canton river and city to trade and the surrender of some of its lofty pretensions by the Pekin Government? Lord Elgin had not brought with him the army which Sir Michael Seymour had stated to be necessary. It was evident that some time must elapse before other regiments could be supplied to replace those which had been diverted to India.

Months passed away in military preparations at Hongkong. A coolie corps of 750 natives, Chinese, Hakkas,[2] and other races of inferior caste, had been organised by Captain Temple and Mr. Power. Fifteen hundred marines had arrived from England;

[1] Boulger's *History of China.*

[2] "A peculiar people living about a hundred miles from Canton on the west and from Hongkong on the south. They are rather at variance with the other inhabitants of the south of China."—*Blackwood's Magazine.*

others were at last on their way from India. Captain Sherard Osborne had brought out a fleet of useful gunboats. Moreover, a French ambassador, Baron Gros, had arrived with instructions similar to Lord Elgin's, and he too could dispose of a small naval force to give effect to the wishes of his Government. On the 12th of December 1857, therefore, Lord Elgin sent High Commissioner Yeh a note informing him of his arrival in China as the representative of Queen Victoria. In this note, after dwelling on the generally amicable relations between England and China, he pointed out the repeated insults and injuries which had been inflicted upon foreigners and Englishmen in particular by the authorities of the city of Canton, culminating in an insult to the English flag and the repeated refusal to grant reparation. But even at the eleventh hour there was time to avert further evil and to stay the progress of hostile proceedings by making prompt and complete redress. The terms were plain and simple. The English demands were confined to two points: "The complete execution at Canton of all treaty engagements, including the free admission of British subjects to the city, and compensation to British subjects and persons entitled to British protection for losses incurred in consequence of the late disturbances." Yeh made a lengthy reply. He went over the whole ground of controversy, reasserted what he wished to believe to be the facts, and curtly concluded that the trade inter-

course might continue on the old conditions, and that "each should pay its own losses." This was not the way to secure a peaceful solution of the question; and on the 15th of the month Sir Michael Seymour seized without opposition Hoonan Point on the island of that name opposite the city. Another ten days were employed in bringing up the last of the troops from Hongkong.

On Christmas Day 1857 an ultimatum was presented, and forty-eight hours were allowed for the evacuation of the city. To this threat Yeh made no sign or answer. It almost seemed as if he were incredulous to the end that the attack would be made, although more than 6000 men had been assembled for the assault.[1] The landing was fixed for nine o'clock on the 28th December, that being the earliest hour at which the tide would serve. The French, however, reached the landing-stage first, and requested General Straubensee to allow them to disembark, to which he acceded. Before their disembarkation was completed the rest of the 29th and artillery arrived in the gunboats; and, as soon as landed, they and the French Naval Brigade moved up towards Lin's Fort, the original party under Major Bannister being in advance. "From our exalted position," Laurence Oliphant relates in his *Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission*, "we had a splendid view of the commencement of the bombardment, which began shortly after daybreak

[1] Boulger's *History of China.*

and continued without intermission for twenty-seven hours. Ten o'clock was fixed as the hour for the landing of the blue jackets of the *Furious*, under Captain Osborne. Meeting Lock, who was temporarily attached to the General's staff, in the village, I pushed on with him as quickly as possible to the front. As we proceeded the country became very broken: small hillocks covered with graves were surrounded by dry paddy-fields, by which their slopes were sometimes terraced. It was just the country for skirmishing in, and, had not our enemy been contemptible, he might have harassed us seriously as we advanced. . . . We found the front about a mile from the village, and when we arrived the French and English Admirals and General Straubensee were seated at luncheon in a grave. The advance had pushed on so rapidly in pursuit of the retreating Chinese that there was a pause in the operations in consequence of the guns and ammunition not having come up. Moreover, we were close to Lin's Fort, the capture of which, it had been arranged, should complete the first day's operations. . . . When our field-piece came up and a shell burst near them, the brave defenders unhesitatingly evacuated the fort, and when the banner of the last man had disappeared behind the rising ground beyond the French rushed in. The fort was a small circular building fitted for the reception of about 200 men. From the parapet we obtained a good view of the city walls about

600 yards distant. As this was the position we intended to occupy for the night, the remainder of the afternoon was spent either in replying to the guns from the city with our field-pieces, or in checking the advance of the braves whenever they ventured to attempt to occupy their old position.

"As day broke the enemy once more opened fire upon us, and by this time the troops were on the move in all directions. The right wing was advancing up a small hamlet with a view of occupying a large building in it known as the Asylum of Indigent Females. The French, with the 59th, were taking up their position to the left, while we moved across the broken country to the asylum. The enemy kept up as brisk a fire as they could, but apparently were incapable of directing their aim. Nine o'clock was the hour at which it had been arranged that the firing should cease. An angle of the asylum was blown up by one shell, another burst among a party of the 59th, killing one man and wounding five. Meantime a large body of braves coming round the north angle attacked our extreme right, and Colonel Holloway's brigade of marines was extended in skirmishing order to repel them. A hot fire was also being kept up on the embrasures by the rifle company of a regiment of Madras Native Infantry, part of the 59th Regiment, and by a rocket battery of the Marine Artillery under Lieutenant Studdert.

From the hillock upon which this battery was placed an admirable view was obtained of the city wall and the scene of operations generally. Some heavy guns in the foreground, manned by blue jackets under Lieutenant Beamish, were dropping shot and shell into Magazine Hill. As we had now been for some time exposed more or less to the fire of our own ships, and the French were apparently bent upon escalading before the time, the order was given for the French and the 59th to escalade, which they did simultaneously, Major Luard being the first man on the walls, closely followed by a French officer and Colonel Graham of the 59th. The enemy deserted the embrasures the moment the ladders were placed against them, and not a shot was fired at us from the time the walls were scaled to the capture of Magazine Hill, except from our own ships. . . . The scene from Magazine Hill was peculiar and exciting: 200 feet below lay the city mapped out before us; a vast expanse of roofs, a labyrinth of intricate lanes, in a vain attempt to follow the windings of which the eye was bewildered; a pagoda here, there a many-storied temple, or the successive roofs of a tamen embowered in luxuriant foliage, above which towered a pair of mandarin poles—beyond all the tapering masts of our own ships. . . . Such were the principal features in a southerly direction, but its striking element was that impressive silence, that absence of all movement on the part of a

population of a million and a half. . . . We had just opened fire upon Gough's Fort, still occupied by the enemy. It was taken at three o'clock the same afternoon, and our right was advanced from Magazine Hill to the north gate. On the following day Lord Elgin proceeded up the river to the *Actæon*, then lying off Dutch Folly, and Mr. Wade and I started off for the front with a communication from his Excellency for the General. We found the fighting over, and the city walls in complete possession of the allies."

Next day—the last of the year—Lord Elgin landed and ascended, by means of a scaling ladder, the south-east angle of the wall, at the point where it was destined to be levelled so as to form the permanent line of communication. Up to this time the military position had been confined to the walls alone. No European had yet entered the city. It was reported that the city authorities were still exercising their functions, and that Yeh had taken up his abode with one of them, and was in innocent expectation that fresh overtures touching our treaty right to enter the city were about to be made to him. Thus closed the year 1857, and with it the reign of the Imperial Commissioner Yeh.

1858. On the 5th of January 1858 detachments from three different directions moved into the native city. Their object was the official quarter, where stood the public offices and the residences of

Yeh and Pihkwei, the Governor of the city. The Chinese were taken completely by surprise; and, although there were many guards and servants about, no resistance was offered beyond the first few shots fired on penetrating into the narrow lanes that led to the heart of the town. Pihkwei was taken in his own house; the treasury was carried at a rush, and the very considerable amount of silver stored there was safely removed to the English camp. But Yeh was still at large, and no one seemed to know where to seek him, as all the larger official buildings had been searched in vain. Mr. Parkes, obtaining the assistance of Captain Key and a hundred sailors, proceeded in search of the great mandarin. At the public library, where it had been said that he would be found, only one poor scholar remained poring over one of the classics in a dark closet. This man admitted that Yeh had been there some days before, and that in all probability he would be found at a yamen in the south-west corner of the city. The information was confirmed by the Governor, and thither hastened Mr. Parkes, Captain Key, and the sailors. They arrived there just in time. All the preparations for a hurried flight were apparent. Coolies were packing up, mandarins were running about. Yeh himself was superintending the measures for departure. The sailors forced in the doors, and Captain Key had the pleasure of seizing Yeh when about to escape

over the wall in the rear. Captain's Key's prisoner was identified by Mr. Parkes and assured of his life, when his self-confidence, which had deserted him in the moment of capture, at once returned.[1] The capture of Yeh completed the victory of the allies. In some ways it was more important than the seizure of Canton. It deprived the chief enemy of the English of all means of showing his fierce resentment or of indulging his anti-barbarian predilections. He was conveyed on board one of the ships, and thence, after a further interval, transported to Calcutta, where he died two years later.

The difficulty at Canton having been settled for the time, it remained for Lord Elgin to carry out that more serious portion of his instructions which required him to place the diplomatic relations between England and China on a satisfactory basis by obtaining the right of direct communication with Pekin. On the 11th February 1858 Lord Elgin addressed the senior Secretary of State at the Chinese capital in a lengthy letter, stating what had occurred in the south, and enumerating the further points on which concessions would be required. The military occupation of Canton was to be continued and the English plenipotentiary and his French colleague would proceed to Shanghai, where they would be prepared to enter into negotiations with the Chinese authorities. Perhaps the most significant sentence in this document

[1] Boulger's *History of China.*

was that stating that "the English Ambassador would require the official appointed to discuss affairs with him to hold his commission direct from the Emperor of China." Lord Elgin left Hongkong for Shanghai in the following month. The reply of Yuching, Hienfung's chief minister, was not long delayed. When Lord Elgin reached Shanghai he found it awaiting him. Yuching's letter was worthy of the great Yeh himself. In its language all the arrogance of the Chinese character stood revealed. Yuching spoke as the representative of a Government that admitted no equal. He seemed to be as blind to the meaning of the defeat at Canton as he was to the pledges given in the Treaty of Nankin—that Treaty which was considered of so little importance at Pekin that the solemnly ratified copy was found in Yeh's yamen at Canton. It soon became clear that no concessions could be wrung from such a Government except by force. Lord Elgin now announced his intention of proceeding to the north, where he would place himself in closer communication with the high officers of the Imperial Government at Pekin.

The foreign plenipotentiaries reached the Gulf of Pechihli in the middle of April, and the fleet had been instructed to collect there as speedily as might be possible. When Lord Elgin appeared at the mouth of the Peiho he drafted a letter to Yuching in temperate language, stating that he had come as the representative of the Queen of England to Peiho,

and that "he was willing to hold an interview with any minister duly appointed by the Emperor, for the purpose of discussing and arranging together the several questions that had arisen." If, on the other hand, his pacific overtures were rejected, "he should consider himself at liberty to adopt other measures to carry out his instructions. Three officials[1] were appointed but as it proved they had no authority to discuss and determine the various questions, Lord Elgin declined to meet them. He addressed one of the Commissioners, Tau, on the 6th of May, to the effect that he could only negotiate with a minister having plenipotentiary powers. Five days later a reply was received asserting that the powers of Tau and his colleagues were as full as those of Keying had been, and that in any case they were quite ample for the adjustment of affairs. There could be only one reply to this distinct refusal. The English Ambassador would proceed up the Peiho to place himself in direct communication with the Pekin Government, and hold the forts at the mouth of the river in order to ensure the execution of the measure. A delay of some days ensued in consequence of an informal representation by the Russian envoy, Count Pontiatine, who tried to play the part of mutual friend throughout, that a settlement was not hopeless; but when that officer wrote that "the Chinese Emperor refused to admit foreign envoys to Pekin," it became impossible

[1] The names of these officials were Tau, Tsing, and Wou.

to doubt that "the same violent remedies which had been employed in the south would have to be employed in the north also." Early in May twenty-five war-ships were drawn up opposite the forts which guarded the entrance to the Peiho and the approach to Pekin from the sea. The allied fleet proceeded to the mouth of the river and summoned the commandant to surrender his forts on the following morning. No reply being received to the summons, the gunboats proceeded in-shore to make the attack. The Chinese fired the first shots, which were returned after the different vessels had arrived at short range. The bombardment continued for one hour and a quarter, when, all the gunners having been driven out of the batteries, the troops and sailors landed and seized the forts. The victors, under the command of Sir Michael Seymour and Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, proceeded as far as the town of Takoo. Here they established their advanced position while the forts in the rear were being dismantled.

The capture of the forts on the Peiho roused the Pekin Government to a sense of imminent danger. Their military resources had been devoted to their defence, and with the fall of the forts they were for the time exhausted. Tientsin could offer no resistance. The allies at this point commanded the entrance to the Grand Canal, and with it the route by which the capital was supplied with grain. Before Lord Elgin reached Tientsin he

had received another communication from the Imperial Commissioners, stating that they would repair in person to the Emperor and ascertain what arrangements he would sanction. The Emperor's plenipotentiaries presently returned, and several days were occupied in discussing the various points stipulated to form the basis of a fresh treaty. The matter to which the most serious objections were raised was that "of allowing a Resident Minister at Pekin." Such a thing had never been heard of, and was attended with peril both to the individual and to the Chinese Government. But on the 11th June the Commissioners sent an important despatch, making the most of the concessions demanded, and suggesting as a compromise on the main point that the visit of an English Ambassador to Pekin might be postponed until a more favourable opportunity. The important admission was made "that there is properly no objection to the permanent residence of a Plenipotentiary Minister of Her Britannic Majesty"; and on the terms of this letter the Commissioners drew up the regular treaty. On the 26th June the treaty was formally signed, and on the 4th of July Lord Elgin received the ratification of the Imperial edict of the Treaty of Tientsin.[1]

On the question of the permanent residence of an English envoy at Pekin, however, the Chinese

[1] This treaty contained fifty-six articles, and one separate article with reference to the indemnity. The right to station an ambassador at Pekin, "if Her Majesty the Queen see fit," was the most important concession.

representatives assumed a firm tone. They deprecated the proposal not merely because it was novel, but because "it promised to entail the gravest dangers for the strength and dignity of the Emperor's executive, at this moment hard pressed through the Taeping rebellion." These representations could not fail to have some effect, especially as they were confirmed by the personal observation of the Europeans themselves. It was therefore found advisable and politic to assure the Chinese Commissioners informally, but none the less solemnly, that "for the present the right would be waived, save in so far as it would be necessary to assert it in the following year for the purpose of the exchange of the treaty ratifications at Pekin." That necessary act once performed, the English plenipotentiary stated that his efforts would be to induce the Queen's Government to abstain from enforcing the extreme letter of its rights at the price of embarrassing the Chinese Government. The practical settlement of the point was, therefore, to stand over until that occasion; but while there was much in the attitude of the Chinese ministers to justify the hope of a satisfactory issue, there was also evidence in the opposite and less agreeable direction.[1]

During these months of negotiations in the north

[1] "Information not to be treated lightly declared that the Chinese were all the while engaged in restoring and improving the fortifications on the Peiho, and in issuing secret edicts for the purpose of raising national effort to the point of staking everything on the expulsion of the foreigners."—Boulger's *History of China*.

Canton had remained in possession of the English forces, assisted by a small body of French, to show that the two great nations of the west held identical views on the subject of China's position with regard to Europeans. Meanwhile the Treaty of Tientsin, and the events which accompanied and followed it, justified some hope "as to the future harmony of China's foreign relations." But there were not wanting sinister reports to show that the Chinese Government was still far removed from the frame of mind necessary to admit the equality of western rulers and their right to depute resident ambassadors at Pekin.[1] Yet in the course of a few months the representative of the English Queen would demand permission to proceed to the capital for the solemn exchange of the treaty ratifications.

1859. Mr. Frederick Bruce, who had been secretary to his brother's embassy, was appointed in the early part of 1859 to proceed to China as Her Majesty's representative. He was instructed to apprise the Chinese authorities that, while the English Government would not renounce the right of having a permanent ambassador at Pekin, it was prepared at the moment to waive it so far as to allow diplomatic relations to be for a time transacted at Shanghai.

[1] "Copies of secret decrees found at Shektsin went far towards proving that the Emperor had been insincere throughout the whole of the negotiations. His language in these documents, which cannot be suspected of fabrication, was very lofty, and could only bear the construction that he would not waive one iota of his rights and privileges, and that he intended to employ the whole force of his Empire in overthrowing the foreigners."—Boulger's *History of China.*

But, while resolving to insist on the ratification taking place at Pekin, there existed a fear that the Chinese would oppose that arrangement with all the means in their power. "All the arts at which the Chinese are such adepts will be put in practice to dissuade you from repairing to the capital," wrote the Foreign Secretary to Mr. Bruce. Any proposition to exchange the ratifications elsewhere than at Pekin was to be met with a simple and emphatic refusal. That point conceded, however, much would be yielded to the convenience or necessities of the Chinese. But it was already apparent that the anti-foreign party, encouraged, as rumour had it, by the Emperor's own example, would make a desperate effort to thwart the British envoy, and that if Mr. Bruce were to succeed in his task it would be necessary for him to be supported by as imposing a force as the British military commander in the south could direct to the Peiho. A land force was summoned from the garrison at Canton, the fleet was directed from the Canton river to the Peiho, and Admiral Hope, who had succeeded to the command of the China squadron, assumed the personal direction of the operations which were to ensure the safe and honourable reception of Mr. Bruce at Tientsin.

The first unfavourable symptom observed was that the entrance to the river had been barred with a row of iron stakes, while a still more formidable line of inner defence, consisting of an

admirably constructed boom, hindered the approach of any hostile force; and when the boats approached the shore they were warned not to attempt to land by an armed and angry crowd. In reply to the inquiries of the interpreter, it was said that these warlike preparations had been made against the rebels. They promised, however, to make a sufficient opening for the passage of the ships.[1] But the most unequivocal token of hostility was the closing up of the narrow passages through the stakes instead of their being widened. The attack on the forts began with the removal of the iron stakes forming the outer barriers. This part of the operation was unopposed. A sufficient passage was soon made, and the vessels proceeded towards the entrance of the river without a single shot having been fired on the one side or the other. But when the ships reached and struck against the inner boom, the forts immediately opened fire with a rapidity and precision which showed that the guns had been trained to bear on that very spot. The severity of the fire was soon shown in the damaged condition of the ships. Two of the gunboats were sinking, and not one had escaped without severe injury. Many officers and men had been killed; and when, after a three hours' cannonade, the firing from the shore became less vigorous, the English expedition had suffered too much to be able to take full advantage of the superiority which

[1] Colonel Fisher's *Three Years' Service in China.*

its artillery had demonstrated after so fierce a contest.

The force on land fared no better. Before the attacking party reached the edge of the ditch it was clear that the chances were decidedly against a successful issue: the ladders and portable bridges had been all destroyed by the fire of the Chinese. An advance party got to within twenty yards of the works, but it could effect nothing. It was safely withdrawn under cover of the darkness, which, very fortunately, soon set in and shielded the retreat of the forlorn hope, and the Chinese were left in undisputed possession of the Takoo Forts, and on the 26th of June, Admiral Hope having reported to Mr. Bruce his inability to clear the passage of the river with the force at his disposal, the ministers decided to consider their mission at an end for the present, and Mr. Bruce directed the Admiral to dispose of the remainder of his fleet in such manner as he thought best calculated to secure tranquillity at the various ports on the coast where trade with Europeans was carried on. Thus ended the attempt to ratify the Treaty of Tientsin; and this incident constitutes the prologue to the Third Chinese War.

All that had recently happened at the mouth of the Peiho favoured the war party. Sang-ko-lin Sin, the Mongul prince who had first checked the Taeping rebels in their march on Tientsin, became the master of the situation, and declared that there was nothing to fear from an enemy who had been repulsed

by the raw levies of Pechihli, while he held the flat country between Pekin and the Peiho with the flower of the Tartar banners. It now became evident that the Treaty of Tientsin at Pekin could not be ratified save at the point of the sword.[1] Yet Her Majesty's Government transmitted terms of the easiest nature to Mr. Bruce, to be forwarded to the Chinese Government as those, the acceptance of which would avert further bloodshed. These terms were simply that "the Treaty of Tientsin should be ratified, and an apology made by the Chinese Government for the occurrence of Takoo."

But shortly after this determination had been come to, information having reached England that clearly showed that the Chinese Government fully approved of all that had been done,[2] the settlement of the question naturally assumed a more difficult and complicated character, and it was considered expedient by the Governments of England and France that Lord Elgin and Baron Gros should return to China and themselves complete the ratification of their treaties. Should the ultimatum which Mr. Bruce was directed to send and their own efforts fail, the matter was then to be placed in the hands of the military and naval commanders of the allied forces. Major-General Sir James

[1] "Until we recover our superiority in the eyes of the Chinese," writes Mr. Bruce with reference to the treaty, "I do not think that its provisions can be carried out."

[2] "Those who had conducted the defence of the Takoo Forts had been rewarded by the Chinese Government, while posthumous honours had been conferred on the slain."—Rennie's *North China and Japan*.

Hope Grant, K.C.B., distinguished for his services in India, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's land forces in China, and the command of the navy remained in the hands of Rear-Admiral Hope, C.B., who was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral in China. General Cousin de Montauban, a cavalry officer of distinguished service in Algeria, was appointed to the command of the French expeditionary corps, and Vice-Admiral Charner was appointed to conduct the naval portion of the French expedition.

The force was sent to the China sea in April 1860, 1860. and the island of Chusan was again occupied as a base for further operations in the Gulf of Pechihli. The first village captured was Sinho, with its line of earthworks, one mile north of the Peiho and about seven miles in the rear of the Takoo Forts. The next day was occupied in discovering the best plan of attacking Tangku. It was found that it could be best approached by the river-bank; the only obstacle in this quarter was that represented by the fire of the guns of two junks, supported by a battery on the opposite side of the river. These, however, were soon silenced by the superior fire directed upon them, and the guns were spiked by Captain Willis and a few sailors who crossed the river for that purpose. The flank of the advance being thus protected, the attack on Tangku itself began with a cannonade from thirty-six pieces of the best artillery of that

period. The Chinese fire was soon rendered harmless, and their walls and forts were battered down. Even then, however, the garrison gave no signs of retreat, and it was not until the Armstrongs had been dragged within a very short distance of the walls, and the foot soldiers had absolutely effected an entrance, that the garrison thought of their personal safety and turned in flight.

It was some days after the battle and capture of Tangku that Lord Elgin had received several communications from Hang, the Governor-General of Pechihli, requesting a cessation of hostilities, and announcing the approach of two Imperial Commissioners appointed for the express purpose of ratifying the Treaty of Tientsin. But Lord Elgin very wisely perceived that it would be impossible to negotiate on fair terms unless the Takoo Forts were in his possession; and, with the view of being in a position to discuss affairs with the Chinese at as early a date as possible, he wrote to Sir Hope Grant expressing his wish that there might be no unnecessary delay in reducing those forts, and in thus opening the way to Tientsin. The capture of Tangku had placed the allied forces in the rear of the northern forts on the Peiho, and those forts once occupied, the others on the southern side would be practically untenable and obliged to surrender at discretion.

The attack on the northern fort commenced

with a heavy cannonade: the Chinese, anticipating the plans of the English, were the first to fire. The Chinese used their guns with extraordinary courage. A shell exploded their principal magazine, which blew up with a terrible report, but, as soon as the smoke cleared off, they recommenced their fire with fresh ardour. The coolie corps here came to the front, and rushing into the water held up the pontoons while the French and some English troops dashed across. But all their efforts to scale the wall were baffled, and it seemed as if they had only gone to self-destruction. While the battle was thus doubtfully contested, Major Anson, who had shown the greatest intrepidity on several occasions, succeeded in cutting the ropes that held up a drawbridge, and an entrance was soon effected within the body of the works. Only 100 Chinese escaped out of a garrison of 500 men. The other forts on the northern side of the river quickly surrendered, and two thousand prisoners were made. The forts on the southern side were also abandoned, and when on the following day formal occupation was made, the spoil included 600 cannon of various sizes.

Admiral Hope's fleet now anchored in security off those very forts which had repulsed him in the previous year.[1] The gunboats were now ordered up the Peiho, and the English Ambassador, escorted by a strong naval and military force, proceeded to Tientsin,

[1] Boulger's *History of China.*

where it would be possible, without loss of dignity, to resume negotiations with the Pekin Government. In three days the greater portion of the expedition had entered the city. No resistance was attempted, although several batteries and entrenched camps were passed on the way. Preparations were at once made to render the position of the troops as secure as it could possibly be in the midst of a very large and presumably hostile population. Several communications passed between the opposite camps during these days; and when Hang announced the withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tientsin, he expressed a wish that the English Ambassador would not bring any vessels of war with him. But such requests were made more with the desire to save appearances than with any hope that they would be granted. The reality of their fears and of their consequent desire to negotiate was best shown by the appointment of Kweiliang, who had arranged the Treaty of Tientsin, as High Commissioner, to provide for the necessary ceremonies in connection with its ratification. He hastened to inform Lord Elgin that he had received the Imperial authority to discuss and decide everything. The Ambassador replied that the three conditions of peace were an apology for an attack on the English flag at the Peiho, the payment of an indemnity, including the costs of the war, and the ratification and execution of the Treaty of Tientsin, including, of

course, the reception at Pekin of the representative of the Queen of England on honourable terms adequate to the dignity of that great Sovereign. To none of these was Kweiliang himself disposed to raise any objection. And yet it soon became clear that all the Chinese were thinking about was to gain time.[1]

On the 8th of September Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant left Tientsin with an advanced force of about 1500 men, and, marching by the high road, reached the village of Hosiwu, half-way between that town and the capital. This force was increased by the remainder of one division, while to Sir Robert Napier was left the task of guarding with the other Tientsin and the communications with the sea. The march was continued to a point beyond the village of Matow, but when Sir Hope Grant approached a place called Chan-chia-wan he found himself in presence of a large army. Instead of the Emperor's delegates, the English commander found Sang-ko-lin Sin and the latest troops drawn from Pekin and beyond the wall in battle array, and occupying the very ground which had been assigned for the English encampment. These arrangements indicated, beyond any doubt, that the Chinese Government had resolved to make another attempt to avert the concessions

[1] It was subsequently discovered that the Commissioners had no express authority, and that consequently everything would have to be referred to the Emperor at Pekin. See *Blue Book*, p. 156.

demanded from them by the English and their allies, and appeal once more to arms.

Colonel Walker, Mr. Thompson, and the men of the King's Dragoon Guards, had been steadily pacing up and down on the embankment as arranged, in order to show the Chinese that they suspected no treachery and had no fears. They continued doing this until a French officer joined them, but on his getting into a dispute with some of the Chinese about his mule, he drew his pistol and fired it at them. He was immediately killed. There was then no longer the least hope of restraining the Chinese, so the whole of the party spurred their horses and escaped to the English army under a heavy but ineffectual fire.

Sir Hope Grant saw no further use in delay. General Montauban was still more impatient, and the men were eager to engage. They had to win their camping-ground that night, and the day was already far advanced.[1] The French occupied the right wing (that is, opposite the spot where Sang-ko-lin Sin was commanding in person), and a squadron of Fane's Horse had been lent them to supply their want of cavalry. The battle began with the fire of their batteries, which galled the Chinese so much that the Tartar cavalry were ordered up to charge the guns. A battery was almost in their hands, its officers had to use their revolvers, when the Sikhs and a few French

[1] Boulger's *History of China.*

dragoons led by Colonel Foley, the English Commissioner with the French force, gallantly charged them in turn and compelled them to withdraw. Meanwhile the English troops had begun a vigorous attack on both the centre and their left. The action might have been indefinitely prolonged and left undecided had not Sir Hope Grant suddenly resolved to reinforce his left with a portion of his centre, and to assail the enemy's right. This later part of the battle began with a charge of some squadrons, and Probyn's Horse, against the bodies of mounted Tartars moving in the plain: these, with their gallant leader at their head, were routed in the sight of the two armies. This overthrow of their chosen fighting men greatly discouraged the rest of the Chinese soldiers, and when the infantry advanced with the Sikhs in front they slowly began to give ground.

But victory was not yet decisive. General Montauban, owing to the exhausted state of his soldiers, admitted that he could not take part in the final attack on Chan-chia-wan. Sir Hope Grant pressed on, however, and occupied the town. Thus ended the battle of Chan-chia-wan with the defeat of the strong army which Sang-ko-lin Sin had raised in order to drive the barbarians into the sea. The Chinese, nevertheless, made another stand at the Palikao bridge, which crosses the Peiho west of Tungchow. Here the fight commenced with a cavalry charge, which was completely successful.

This achievement was followed up by the attack on several fortified positions. The capture of the bridge and the dispersion of the troops, including the Imperial Guard, which had been entrusted with its defence, completed the discomfiture of the Chinese. Pekin lay at the mercy of the invader.

The day after the battle at Palikao bridge a letter came from Prince Kung, the Emperor's brother, stating that he had been appointed with plenipotentiary powers for the discussion and decision of the peace question. Lord Elgin replied that there could be no negotiations for peace until their prisoners[1] were restored, and that if they were not sent back in safety the consequence would be most serious for the Chinese Government. As the Prince gave no sign of yielding this point during the week's delay in bringing up the second division from Tientsin, Lord Elgin requested Sir Hope Grant to resume his march on Pekin, from which the advanced guard of the allied forces was only ten miles distant. In execution of the plan of attack that had been agreed upon, the army marched round Pekin to the north-west corner of the walls, having as their object the Summer Palace of the Emperor at Tuen Min Tuen, four miles from the city. No enemy was encountered. The Emperor's flight to the hunting residence beyond the wall[2]

[1] Mr. Parkes and his companions, who had been seized with their flag of truce on the morning of the fight at Chan-chia-wan.

[2] Jehol had been the hunting-place of the earlier Emperors, but had fallen into disfavour.

was most precipitate, and the treasures of the Summer Palace were left at the mercy of the western spoilers. The capture and occupation of the Summer Palace completed the European triumph, and obliged Prince Kung to promptly acquiesce in Lord Elgin's demand for the immediate surrender of the prisoners if he wished to avoid the far greater calamity of a foreign occupation of the Tartar quarter of Pekin, and the appropriation of its vaster and rarer collection of treasures.

The prisoners were returned—at least Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, the trooper Nalsing, the Comte d'Escayrae de Lanture, author of the official description of the expedition, as were also four soldiers. The exact fate of the rest was unknown; and this was perhaps fortunate for China. Lord Elgin felt able, in consequence of the more friendly proceedings of Prince Kung, to overlook the earlier treatment of those now returned to him, for the narrative of Mr. Parkes and his fellow-prisoners was one that tended to heighten the feeling of indignation at the original breach of faith. To say that they were barbarously ill-used is to employ a phrase conveying a very inadequate idea of the numerous indignities and the cruel personal treatment to which they were subjected.[1]

A feeling of great horror was awakened when the

[1] "The pages of history may be searched almost in vain for an event that, in the dramatic elements of courage and suffering, presents such a complete and consistent record of human gallantry and devotion."—Boulger's *History of China.*

details of these cruel deeds were known. And although the desire to arrange the question of peace was uppermost in Lord Elgin's mind, still it was felt that some grave step was necessary to express the abhorrence with which England regarded this senseless outrage, and to bring home to the Chinese people and Government that Englishmen could not be murdered with impunity. He and Sir Hope Grant had little difficulty in arriving at the decision that the best mode of expiation was to destroy the Summer Palace. This was carried into execution. The palace was destroyed by fire, and the sum of £100,000 was demanded and obtained from the Chinese as some compensation for the families of the murdered men.

The whole of Pekin witnessed the destruction of the Emperor's abode, and clouds of smoke hung for days like a vast black pall over the city. That act of just vengeance consummated, the negotiations for the ratification of the treaty were resumed. The Hall of Ceremonies was selected as the place in which the ratifying act should be performed, and the palace of Prince Tsai was appropriated as the temporary official residence of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. During this war, it may here be recorded, an excellent understanding prevailed between the foreign powers. General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador, who was well acquainted with the interior of Pekin, supplied the English commander with a map and much informa-

tion about the chief buildings. The formal act of ratification was performed on the 24th of October 1860, and Lord Elgin transferred to his brother, Mr. Frederick Bruce, the charge of affairs in China as Resident Minister. Thus direct intercourse with the Pekin Government was obtained after a bitter struggle of thirty years, and Prince Kung, closely connected with the Emperor, assumed the personal charge of the foreign relations of the country.

"Since the taking of Pekin,"[1] said Lord Naas, 1863. "our policy had entirely changed, for then a policy of entire neutrality had been laid down. . . . He wondered it never occurred to those who inaugurated the policy to which he was adverting how dangerous was the example they set the Taepings. . . . According to a notice in the *Gazette* (30th of June 1863) Major Gordon had withdrawn altogether from the service of Her Majesty. It was quite evident that the contingent in China was intended to be a permanent force, and that officers accepting appointments in it were prepared to sacrifice their prospects in the British army. He did not wish to say a word against them. The fault lay with the Government at home. Captain Osborne would be more highly paid than our Admiral in the China seas, while Major Gordon would draw nearly as much pay as the General commanding the British forces in China. Nor could it be said that they

[1] Lord Naas's speech in the House of Commons, July 1863.

were engaged in the service of the Emperor of China, and that we had nothing to do with the matter. Captain Osborne and his men, as well as the Anglo-Chinese contingent, would be looked upon both by the Imperialists and the rebels as servants of Her Majesty's, obeying the orders of the British Government. Already, indeed, Prince Kung had conveyed to Mr. Bruce a formal expression of thanks for the valuable aid rendered to the Emperor by the British, French, and Russian Governments. . . . Russia had shown a desire to assist the Chinese Government in the suppression of the Taeping rebellion, so that our interference in China was likely to be followed by the interference of that great power also. But France, likewise, was in a very curious position in relation to those regions. She had expended large sums of money in the settlement of Cochin China, and her efforts had, he was afraid, proved to some extent a failure. Yet if France succeeded in restoring confidence to those districts a considerable trade would spring up there and in Camboja. But France had other objects in view in China besides those of a commercial nature. She had several depots in China, and a very large force at Ningpo, commanded by French officers. It was also stated that our Chinese contingent often deserted to the French contingent, attracted by the superior advantages of pay and plunder which were offered them."

On the other hand, Mr. Layard expressed as

his opinion (in the same debate) that the Taeping rebellion was gradually breaking up. Already some of the more important Taeping leaders had gone over to the Chinese authorities, and when Nankin fell the whole Taeping rebellion would fall with it. In addition to that, he would state confidently to the House, from the reports which he had heard, that the discipline of the Chinese troops, not only under Europeans but under Chinese officers, was greatly improved, that few cruelties were now committed, that cases of plunder were unknown, and that they were entirely supported by paying for what they obtained from the population. That was a great step in advance, and would go far to show that Captain Sherard Osborne, who was as well known for his humanity as for his gallantry, would introduce improvements into the Chinese army, and that Her Majesty's Government were deserving of praise and not blame for allowing such men to go to China. He saw in the distance tranquillity restored; that vast population engaged in agriculture; the fields teeming with that produce, once a luxury, which had now become a necessity; the canals once more covered with boats; and new markets opened to our industry.

Lord Palmerston considered that the main question was: "Has the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government in China been attended with good results? is it founded in good faith and likely to be attended with advantage? In years not long gone

by we were perpetually in a state of squabbles and hostilities with the Government of China. We were attacked and condemned by honourable gentlemen, who told us that we were engaged in hostility with one-third of the human race, and that we were needlessly risking all the commercial interests of the country connected with China by these quarrels and conflicts with the Chinese Government. We were told to abstain from such a course of proceeding and let affairs take their course. The state of things is now altered, and those very hostilities which were found fault with have resulted in this—that we are now on the most friendly terms with the Government of China, and that we have access to the supreme Government from which we were before debarred by local and provincial authorities. . . . Compare the state of our trade with China some years ago, when we were contented with the limited intercourse of the East India Company to one portion of the Chinese Empire, with the great development now given to the industry and commerce of this country over the whole surface of the Chinese Empire. Look to the great extension of that commerce which is likely to arise if, by our friendly assistance, we should be able to place the internal arrangements of China on a more regular footing. . . . I hold that China has altered its policy with respect to foreign nations and with respect to the English nation; that, since the policy of China as conducted by Prince Kung, and associates

equally liberal with himself, proves that China is now prepared to enter into intimate relations with foreigners instead of keeping them at arm's length and endeavouring to prevent all intercourse whatever with them—that, since the policy of China is to encourage commerce with the nations of the world, it would be suicidal on our part not to endeavour to assist the enlightened Government of China in those efforts of improvement. It had been admitted by the Opposition" (Lord Palmerston went on to say) "that they were in duty bound, having regard to British interests, to defend the treaty ports: they complain that we took measures to rescue one of them—Ningpo—from the occupation of the Taepings. The admission was an answer, in my opinion, to the accusation made against the Government. There was nothing inconsistent with the practice of nations in one friendly power lending to another officers to drill and direct its troops; and when, therefore, the Queen's officers were authorised by Government to enter into the service of China, they did nothing which had not been done in innumerable instances, and which was not perfectly justifiable. . . . Our present course was to strengthen the Chinese Empire, to augment its revenues, and to enable it to provide itself with a better navy and army. That is one method of inspiring other countries with caution as to any future encroachments they might be tempted to make on China. But for the present, at least,

France, Russia, and England were perfectly agreed in their policy with regard to China. The Minister at Pekin was on the best possible terms with representatives of France and Russia, and shared the feeling with the English Government that it was for their mutual interest to restore, if possible, tranquillity to the interior of China and extend the commercial relations between Europe and that nation. If the internal disorders of the Empire could be suppressed we should find in commercial intercourse with China an important source of national wealth and prosperity."

1864. In referring to Chinese affairs[1] Colonel Sykes called attention to the resolution moved by Mr. Markham, the British Acting-Consul, and seconded by Mr. Keswick, Danish Consul—strongly disapproving of the action of the Chinese authorities at Souchow, and passed unanimously at a meeting of the Consuls representing European nations at Shanghai, on the 16th December 1863, at the British consulate. He asked whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to pass unnoticed further violation of the instructions of the Foreign Office to British authorities in China, and to be strictly neutral in the civil war which has so long raged in China. News came (in November 1863) from Souchow that a force consisting of 200 men of the 67th Regiment, 100 men of the Royal Artillery, and 100 men of the 22d Native Infantry had left, under command of

[1] Debate in House of Commons, March 1864.

Captain Murray, R.A., for Taitsan; that 200 Beloochees, under command of Captain Hogg, had also been thrown into Quinsan; that the garrisoning of these two cities by the British would enable Major Gordon to advance with almost his entire force to Souchow, and would secure his retreat in the unexpected event of a reverse; that it was believed that as the capture of Souchow was considered essential to the tranquillity of Shanghai, Sir Frederick Bruce looked favourably on the conjoint action of native and foreign troops if such should be found necessary.

In his (Lord Palmerston's) opinion it was for the interest of England that the rebellion should cease, and that the authority of the Imperial Government should be maintained and re-established in China. It could not be for the advantage of those who trade with China that the country should be in a state of war. If there was any possibility that the rebels would succeed in overthrowing the Imperial authority and in establishing some other Government in lieu thereof, then there might be a choice between the two Governments; and persons, according to the views they took, might think it advisable or not that the present dynasty should be maintained or the rebel authority established in its place. But there was no chance of that. The rebellion had not within itself any elements of success or organisation, and it was very important for the commercial interests of this country, as it was with China,

that order and peace should be re-established there, that commerce might revive and be carried on without impediment. It was with that object that permission had been given to Captain Osborne and Mr. Lay to organise a naval force for the purpose of co-operating with the Imperial troops. With that view an Order in Council had been passed permitting British subjects generally to enter the service of the Chinese Government. This had been taken advantage of only by Major Gordon and one or two other persons. The expedition under Captain Osborne having entirely failed, that Order in Council was revoked, leaving it of course to the discretion of the Crown, according to its standing prerogative, to grant, if it should think fit, permission to individuals to enter into the service of the Emperor of China, upon application duly made in each case by the individual.

Mr. Baxter asked whether the Government meant in future to adhere strictly and honourably to the defence of British property in the treaty ports, refusing any kind of aid directly or indirectly to the Imperialists, and abandoning altogether the attempt to bolster up and support the Government of Pekin; and also what instructions, if any, had been sent to Her Majesty's servants in China with reference to this important question; and whether they had been enjoined for the future not only not to accept employment under the Imperial Dynasty, but to take no step, however indirect, to support the

Government of the Emperor.[1] In replying to these questions Lord Palmerston said that our reason for interfering in the affairs of China was because our treaty rights were endangered and our national interests were at stake. As every one must know, on the extension of our commerce depends the prosperity of our country, the accumulation of our capital, the abundance of our revenue, and the strength and prosperity of the nation. Any measure, therefore, calculated to increase the commercial relations of the country was deserving of praise, because it accords with the wishes and interests of the country. It had long been felt that China would open a vast field of commercial enterprise to us; and there can be no doubt that among other things the great expansion of commerce with that Empire had enabled us to meet without disaster the unfortunate obstructions to our commerce and manufactures occasioned by events going on in America. In referring to the disaster at Souchow, he declared that there had been no massacre. A very treacherous act had been committed towards the Wangs, who were decoyed into the power of the Tartar commander, the Futai,[2] who revenged upon them what he stated to have been an act of great barbarity committed by them on a former occasion. In referring to the Taepings, he said that every impartial person writing from China had borne

[1] Debate in House of Commons, May 1864.
[2] Li Hung Chung.

witness to the desolation which marked their track. The districts which they occupied were laid waste, the people reduced to starvation. Was that a state of things conducive to British commerce? Was that a state of things the extension of which to the immediate neighbourhood of our treaty ports we ought to permit? No one could deny that as far as the radius of thirty miles from these ports extends, we were justified in what we had done, and that it was our duty to keep these marauding Taepings from making piratical incursions within those limits. It is then greatly to the interest of this country to maintain those commercial rights which the treaty concluded with China gave us. When first the war with China began, Sir James Graham, a sagacious man, warned this house of the danger that must arise from entering into war with a third portion of the human race. What then must be the advantages to this country if it can have an unimpeded commerce with one-third of the human race? It is for our interests, therefore, that tranquillity should be restored in China. It has been said that the dynasty is tottering to its fall. I can only judge from what reports reach me, but I should be more inclined to say that the rebellion was more likely to end than the dynasty to be overthrown. For, as far as the accounts which reach us can be trusted, the Taeping rebellion has been narrowed to a much more restricted circle than it occupied one or two years ago; and if we are to speculate

on the future it would be safer to reckon that the rebellion is tending towards extinction than that the dynasty is tottering to its fall. Besides, what must happen if the Imperial Government be overthrown? You would have nothing but extensive anarchy. The Taepings were perfectly incapable of ruling the Empire. We had certainly given to the Chinese Government the assistance of British advice and arrangement in collecting their customs and improving their revenue, and great benefits had resulted to the Chinese Government from that assistance. We had authorised Captain Osborne and others, acting under Mr. Lay, to raise a squadron for the purpose of restoring order in the waters of China and getting rid of the piracies which endanger navigation. It was to be regretted that the expedition under Captain Osborne did not succeed. It had failed, owing to the jealousies which existed between the central and provincial Government. Had Captain Osborne been allowed to direct it according to his views, it would have put an end to that piracy which was desolating all the coasts of China. Referring to Major Gordon, Lord Palmerston said that he considered him a most able and distinguished officer, and one who had performed great service for the Imperial Government, and it was his (Lord Palmerston's) conviction that if the Imperial Government could by Major Gordon's aid put down the rebellion, not only would they gain a great advantage to themselves, but they would confer an immense

advantage upon the commercial interests of the country. But it was not our intention to authorise any direct interference in the military or naval service of China, as between the Imperial Government and the Taepings, beyond the protection to be afforded within a radius around our treaty ports.

In a long debate Lord Palmerston stated that the Order in Council, under which officers were employed, having been revoked, it would be unnecessary to express any opinion as to the views taken by the Opposition with regard to the expedition of Captain Osborne, or the employment of Major Gordon and others.[1] Nor was it the intention of Her Majesty's Government to renew them. That policy was at an end. But the steps were perfectly justified, in his opinion, because it was evident that the more we could contribute to the internal pacifications of China, the more that trade, which everybody agreed to be the main and proper object of our intercourse with China, would flourish, and it was quite obvious that in proportion as the interior of China was laid waste by civil war and rebellion, in that proportion must our trade suffer impediment and obstruction. In referring to the history of our intercourse with China, Lord Palmerston was of opinion that it was the natural history of the relations of a highly-civilised with a half-civilised people. It invariably happened that where

[1] Debate in House of Commons, June 1864.

a highly-civilised race came in contact with a half-civilised race you found that they acted upon different rules of conduct. The highly-civilised race expects good faith, justice, fulfilment of engagements, honour, and an absence from wrong-doing. The half-civilised race, on the other hand, recognises quite a different rule of conduct, which the other cannot submit to. Hence quarrels arise; wars follow the quarrels; engagements, treaties, and conventions put an end to this war; the conventions and engagements are broken; further quarrels arise; and in that manner relations are embittered, the superior strength and ascendancy of the civilised race assert themselves, and then the other nation, feeling that they cannot, with safety or success, practice their own rule of conduct, acquiesce in the regulations imposed upon them by their more powerful antagonists. Then comes a peaceful and friendly intercourse. That has been exactly the course of the relations between this country and China. . . .

Now, if the monopoly of the East India Company had continued up to the present time (1864), if our trade with China had been confined to this Company, in all human probability none of these wars would ever have broken out, because the intercourse would have been very restricted. Nobody would have gone to China except persons under the control of the Company, and the policy of the Company would have been to submit to any in-

dignity which might from time to time be offered. There would have been no national honour at stake, no interest save that of the Company would have been concerned, and it would have been thought better to submit to any little indignity and wrong than to break off commercial intercourse without having the power to redress these injuries. If, therefore, Lord Palmerston argued, the monopoly of the East India Company had continued, the trade to China might have been much less than it is, but we should have avoided the contests which have taken place between the two countries. But it was not in the choice of the Government of the day to continue that system. The whole country cried out against the monopoly of the East India Company. They said it was intolerable that such a trade should be monopolised by a single Company, and that monopoly was therefore abolished. Then there was a general feeling that in proportion as the industry and wealth of the country increased, in that proportion we ought to seek for new markets and new customers. The nations of Europe were wedded to their protective system; our intercourse with them must be necessarily limited. We must therefore go to other countries where the same impediments did not exist, and find out new markets, and enable the commerce of the country to acquiesce its full development. When the monopoly of the East India Company was abolished there came a series

of contests. Injuries were inflicted by the Chinese Government; merchants were imprisoned and threatened with starvation, in order to extort from them their opium. The representative of the English Government, Lord Napier, was cruelly treated. One outrage followed another. Again there was war. Next came an agreement. That agreement was afterwards broken; a conflict ensued; and so, step by step, we arrived at the Treaty of Tientsin. Had we had a Minister at Pekin at the outset of these disputes none of these wars would have taken place. It was because we were debarred from communication with the Government of Pekin, because we were at the mercy of provincial governors, who committed acts of injustice, knowing that they could do so with impunity, and could render their own accounts of what passed, preventing all remonstrance with the central Government; it was on this account that we did not obtain redress and that wars arose. Nothing of more importance could have been done, with the view to the maintenance of friendly relations between this country and China, than the admission of our Minister as a resident at Pekin. Therefore (in Lord Palmerston's opinion) one ought not to consider the policy of one particular measure affecting our relations with China, but the great features of our policy, commencing with the abolition of the monopoly of the East India Company and ending with the residence of an English diplo-

matic agent at Pekin, and the establishment of direct diplomatic relations with the Chinese Government. . . .

There can be no doubt that a civil war waged under circumstances of cruelty by both parties, though the balance of the crime was undoubtedly on the side of the Taepings, must place the country in a much worse state than would have been the case if peace had been established. For 3000 years China had been the seat of turbulent disorders, of revolts and rebellions, and it would have been therefore rather sanguine to expect an entire termination of the war, though it was thought that the rebellion would be subdued at an earlier period than might be supposed.

Our position, now that we had entered into friendly and direct relations with the central Government of China, would not be easily shaken; the establishment of peaceful relations would result in a large increase to our trade and effect an object of great importance to the industry and prosperity of this country.

A. E. H.

I

EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE TAEPING REBELLION

THE immediate descendants of Genghis Khan conquered China A.D. 1271, and established the Yurn Dynasty, which ruled the country till 1368, when it was overthrown by a native dynasty, that of the Mings. The Ming Dynasty reigned till the year 1644, but the last thirty years of their government was a period of continual strife between the Government (who had moved the capital from Nankin to Pekin) and the barbarous tribes of Manchu Tartars on the frontiers, and with insurrections in the interior.

In 1644 a native, Le tze ching, entered Pekin with his insurgent forces, and the last Ming Emperor on his arrival committed suicide. Le proclaimed himself Emperor, but was soon driven from the capital by the Manchu Tartars, who were invited into the country by a Chinese General "Woosankwoi," who had been defending the frontier against them, but who, looking on the usurpation of the throne

by the rebel Le as intolerable, now begged their assistance against the usurper.

The Manchu Tartars having entered the country, had no intention of quitting it. They proclaimed their chief Shunchi Emperor, and after eight or ten years, by causing dissension among the various insurgent bodies, and by their superior military powers, subdued the country, compelling the native Chinese males to shave the front part of their heads, to wear the Manchu queue or tail, and to adopt their dress; but they made no alteration in the dress of the women, who to this day retain their old costume and compress their feet, which the Manchus do not.

In the usurpation of the Manchus there has always been on the part of the people in the south-east of China a certain opposition which has led to the institution of various secret societies, among which the Triads may be considered the most influential.

The Manchu or Ta tsing Dynasty reigned with great justice and moderation up to the end of the last century, and in fact till 1830 or thereabouts the Empire enjoyed peace, and the government was justly administered.

Soon after 1830 troubles began to arise with the foreign nations which caused the Government at Pekin considerable alarm, and determined them to endeavour to keep up the exclusiveness of the Empire. This attempt on being carried out led to the

war with the British in 1842, which war, by first disordering the finances of the Empire, showing the people that the Manchus were not invincible, and finally by the disbandment of considerable levies of bravos on the conclusion of the war with nothing to do, no doubt prepared the way for the Taeping Rebellion.

Hung seu tsuen, the leader of the Taeping Rebellion, the "Tien Wang" or Heavenly King (as he styled himself in November 1851), was born in 1813 some thirty miles from Canton. The Chung Wang, in his curious autobiography written while a prisoner at Nankin, gives the following account of the Tien Wang: "The Tien Wang was a native of Hua-sien in the Kwang-Tang province, and from that place, Kwangsi, and other places extending several thousand li, his followers were sprinkled like stars. The Tien Wang was constantly concealed among the hills, carrying on his work of reformation, and out of ten families he either made converts of three or five, or even eight of them. Students and those of good sense would not follow him, but only the agricultural labourers and those in distress were willing to join him, and of these latter there was an immense number. The preconceived design of ultimately establishing a Government was only known to Tung Wang (Eastern King), the Southern King, the Northern King, the Yi Wang, Shih ta kai the Spiritual Minister of State, and Chin Ji Chang. None but the above six were aware of it. The only object

the remainder of the people had in following the Tien Wang was for the sake of obtaining a subsistence. The Eastern King lived on the Ping-zi hills, and depended for his existence on the sale of firewood and charcoal. He had no knowledge of military tactics until after he had worshipped Shang-ti, when unexpectedly Heaven wrought a great change in him. He enjoyed above all others the confidence of the Tien Wang, and had the general management of affairs entrusted to him. His orders were strict and proper, and his rewards and punishments administered impartially." In 1837 he attempted to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, but failed at the examination. He had visited Canton in 1833, and obtained from some of the Christian converts a collection of tracts and some copies of the Bible. After his failure at the examination in 1837 he returned to his home and fell sick, during which time he had several trances, the tendency of which led him to believe he was destined to be Emperor of China. He remained quiet till 1843, noting the important events developed during the war with the British, and about that year he began preaching his new doctrines, making use of his trances and the various religious books, and having with him his friend Fung yun sang, afterwards the "Nan Wang" or "Southern King." He continued making converts in his native district, who were known under the name of God-worshippers, till 1846, when he went to Canton and met with Mr. Roberts, an American

Baptist, under whom he studied for some months, and to whom he applied for baptism. This request, however, was not complied with,[1] and in 1848 Hung seu tsuen returned to his native place, and rejoined Fung yun sang, whose congregation numbered some 5000, among whom Yang seu tsing,[2] afterwards the Eastern King, and Seaou Chaou-kwei, afterwards the Western King, brother-in-law of the Heavenly King, were the most prominent teachers.

These two men were subject to trances, during which Yang assumed to be the spokesman of God

[1] Mr. Roberts seems to have formed a more favourable opinion of the Pretender at a later date; for Mr. F. W. A. Bruce, writing to Lord John Russell in 1862, said—

"Mr. Roberts, an American missionary, from whom the Taeping leader Hung seu tsuen received some religious instruction, has joined the insurgents at Souchow. He has described, in a letter which will no doubt be published, one of their religious meetings at which he attended, having previously dined with their leader Le (styled the 'Chung Wang'). It consisted of the offering up of large heaps of provisions before an altar erected in honour of Shang-ti. The assemblage knelt in silence for a couple of minutes, then a short prayer was read from a paper, which was burnt, and a hymn was sung. Mr. Roberts may be presumed to take a favourable view of their religious observances, but I understand that he expresses doubts as to the ceremony having any other meaning in the eyes of the mass of the worshippers than is attached to the rites performed by the Emperor. He seems to think that they consider Shang-ti merely as the material heaven and earth; and it is significant that he recommends the missionaries not to employ that word any longer to designate the Divine Being. At his own request he was permitted to preach, and he states that his discourse was directed against sacrifice, and contained a strong remonstrance against the cruelties committed by the insurgents, as alienating from them the sympathies of foreigners. I entertain little hope of his exhortations producing any effect on the conduct of his friends."

[2] This chief, a great fighter, was also called the Tung Wang. He is described by Wilson as the incarnation of the Holy Ghost, and an aspirant for supreme power, which led to his assassination at the instigation of the Heavenly King in 1856.

the Father, while Seaou spoke as the Heavenly Brother "Jesus."

In 1850, in consequence of an attempt made by the Imperial authorities to arrest Hung seu tsuen, a collision took place between his followers and the Imperialist troops, who were defeated. But this attempt brought matters to a crisis, for Hung seu tsuen, seeing his danger, called together all his adherents and proclaimed his intentions to expel the Manchus and establish the "Native Dynasty of Universal 'Peace' or 'Taeping.'" His adherents allowed the hair on the front part of their heads to grow, although they still thought it prudent to retain their tails till they had accomplished their undertaking.

The Pekin Government now became seriously alarmed, and began moving troops down to the district, who, however, met with but indifferent success. Hung seu tsuen soon found that he could not maintain himself in these regions for want of provisions, and therefore commenced his march northward to fresh districts followed by the Imperialist forces, who were handled severely in their endeavours to arrest their progress. The Taepings left the Woosuen district when the rebellion was proclaimed in May 1851, and entered the Seang district some thirty miles distant, capturing some villages and ravaging the country, but making no great stay at any one place; in August they moved to the Yung gan district, where they captured the

chief city, and where they remained till November 1851. Hung seu tsuen now assumed the title of Tien Wang or the Heavenly King, and nominated his friends:—

Fung yun sang, Nan Wang or Southern King.[1]

Seaou Chaou-kwei (brother-in-law to Tien Wang), Shih Wang or Western King.

Wei ching, Pei Wang or Northern King.

Yang seu tsing, Tung Wang or Eastern King.

Shih ta kai, E Wang or Assistant King.

And by these titles they will be henceforth known.

The chiefs and their adherents adopted on their state occasions the old Chinese dresses worn under the Ming Dynasty, the Wangs wearing yellow gowns and a species of hood of yellow silk on the head, except on very great occasions, when they wore ornamented gilt crowns and yellow silk robes embroidered with dragons.

About January 1862 Chang kwoh liang, his brother Chang yu liang, Lo ta kang, and five other rebel chiefs of the Triad Society, joined Hung seu tsuen, but after staying with him for some time they disagreed, and Chang kwoh liang and his brother, with the other five, left him with their forces and joined Heang yung, the Imperialist general,

[1] "The Wangs or kings were all appointed by him on the ground of their services to the Taeping cause, and were described as 'brethren of the same womb.' Each of these Wangs had usually a distinct province and army assigned to him; but at least in the latter years of the rebellion the Kan Wang or Shield King, being Prime Minister, was virtually director of the movement, and from his military skill the Chung Wang took the lead in the field."—*Wilson.*

who gave Chang kwoh liang a very important command and kept him with him.

The Taepings left Yung gan in April 1852, and marched northwards into Hoonan, having been foiled in their attempt to take Kiveiling, the capital of the province of Kwangsi. They, however, took Taon, a district city, on the 12th June 1852, where the Nan Wang or Southern King was killed, and pushing on captured Kea-ho Kiveiyang and Chin, other cities in the same province; they then marched on Changshu, the capital of the province of Hoonan, which they besieged for three months, but without success.

It was here that Tseng kwoh fan, a native of Hoonan, first distinguished himself by raising a body of militia to repel the rebels. He had passed the Hanlin College and was in retirement when the advance of the rebels took place.

Repulsed at Changshu, where the Shih Wang or Western King was killed, the Taepings pushed on northward, and, descending the course of the River Seang, followed that river into the Tungtung lake, where they captured large quantities of boats and river craft, by which means they crossed the lake on the 13th December 1852, and entered the Yangtze Kiang at Yochang, which was evacuated by the Imperialist troops. They then went on and captured Hankow on the 23d December 1852, and invested Woochang, the capital of the province of Hupih, which they took by storm on the 12th

January 1853. They only remained a month in these places, being satisfied with the accumulation of booty and provisions.

Tseng kwoh fan, with Heang yung, Chang kwoh liang and other Imperial leaders, followed them up, and as the rebels vacated the cities they occupied them, reporting to Pekin their victories.

The rebels descended the Yangtze river, and on the 18th February 1853 they captured Kinkiang, now one of the Treaty ports. On the 24th February 1853 they took Nganking, the capital of Ngan-whang, and on the 8th March they appeared before Nankin, captured it on the 24th March by the explosion of a mine near the E-feng gate, which effected a breach, and through which they assaulted.

It does not appear that the Taepings held more than the cities on the Yangtze river from Kinkiang to Nankin. They had vacated Hankow and the others before their move on the latter city. After the capture of Nankin, where 30,000 Manchus were massacred, they moved on to Chinkiang, a city on the south bank of the Yangtze river (close to the point where it is joined by the Grand Canal), which they captured on the 1st April 1853; they took Yang-chow on the Grand Canal, north bank of the Yangtze river, the next day, but vacated it soon after.

Tseng kwoh fan was repulsed with heavy loss by the rebels in an attempt he made to retake

Kinkiang about this date, and compelled to remain on the defensive.

In May 1853 the Tien Wang, who had established his Court at Nankin, despatched to the north an army for the purpose of capturing Pekin. They started on the 12th May, and marching rapidly through Loochow, Yingchow, Fóngyang, Kweitih to Kalfung, which they failed in taking, and, crossing the Yellow river, besieged Rivarking for two months. This delay gave time for the Imperialist troops to collect and oppose their march. Finding that they would not take Rivarking, the rebels turned westward, capturing and vacating the cities of Yuenkauh and Pingyang, from which latter they turned north-east to the Lim Lumming pass in the ridge between Hoonan and Chili-li, where they defeated a Manchu force and entered Chili-li on the 29th September 1853. They now marched by Chalo, Chaon-chow, Tsin-chow, Tsing-hae, and Tuhlem, which latter city is only twenty miles south of Tien-tsin and one hundred miles from Pekin. They were met by the Tien-tsin militia on 28th October 1853 and repulsed; they were then compelled to remain on the defensive by the troops that had been following their hurried march, and by the Mongol cavalry and the other forces that had been sent from Pekin under Sang-ko-lin Sin or Sung Wang, a semi-independent prince of Mongolia, tributary to Pekin, and allied to the Imperial family.

The wonderful marches and conquests of Chung Wang and the other rebel leaders will be understood when it is explained that as a rule the Chinese have no standing army; therefore on the breaking out of any insurrection they have no means of repressing it. The governors of provinces are also independent of each other, and thus when the rebels left Kiangsi to penetrate Che-kiang, the forces in Kiangsi were satisfied at their leaving their part of the country and did not follow them; while the governor of Che-kiang, not expecting the invasion, had his province overrun without the means of preventing it. The rebels' advance was sure to cause the lower classes of the large cities to become turbulent, being glad of any excuse to plunder; these men, aided by secret rebel emissaries, spread alarming reports (too eagerly listened to by Chinese), and caused uneasiness of spirit among the mercantile classes. Fire would then break out in different directions, and such demoralisation take place that the people of the city by degrees began to get ready to leave.

The rebels now finding everything ripe for their designs, begin to advance, burning along the route; and while fires and the fugitives cause more and more confusion in the city, some rebels now enter in disguise, and when at length the advanced guards of the Changmaous (or long-haired) appear, these and the lower classes rise, and the conquest is complete. The leaders of the rebels always keep

by the main body well in rear, while their advance bodies move some days' marches ahead. When these are checked by the Imperialists they fall back to the main force.

In proceeding against the rebels at first a district is passed through where the people are evidently disturbed, but have not yet left their houses, having their things ready packed; then comes a district where fugitive country people are hurrying past laden with all the household goods they can carry, leading bullocks, and rushing past in countless numbers—men, women, and children in inextricable confusion. Then comes a district quite deserted except by a few who are hanging about in a furtive way about their houses, and who are probably rebel spies or emissaries; then comes a district of which nearly every house or hamlet is on fire, the volumes of smoke ascending in every direction, among which are forms running and hurrying here and there, and a stray flag or two appears in the distance; and then comes the rebel forces struggling along by tens or twenties—a set of locusts devouring the country and held in universal detestation by the people. They take a fiendish pleasure in taking life, mutilating if they do not kill every one they meet, pressing the villagers to carry their loot, branding them on the face with the characters "Taeping," "Teen Kwokh," or "Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace."

The Tien Wang, on the receipt of the news of

this expeditionary force having failed, sent out another army in November 1853, which, leaving Nganking, marched northwards by Tungching, Loochow, Luhgan, Yintching, Yingchow, Fung, Luitsing, where, in the month of March 1854, it formed a junction with the first army which had retracted its way southwards; but little more can be traced relative to these armies. There was no allusion made to them after the year 1855 by the Imperialists. It is supposed that, met by the Mongol cavalry in the plains of the north, and ignorant of the country, they were either driven south or obliged to surrender. None of Tien Wang's kings or men of note accompanied these expeditions.

While these events were tàking place in the north, the Imperialist general Heang, who had followed up the rebels in their progress down the Yangtse river, took up a position to the south-east of Nankin and five miles from it, while the janitor of Shanghai, having assembled some Chinese gunboats and lorchas, blockaded Chinkiang. Tseng kwoh fan was occupied in watching the rebels at Kinkiang, and preventing their advance into Kiangsi.

Such was the state of affairs in May 1853, when our first communications with the rebels took place. Sir George Bonham having been informed of the progress of the Taepings, considered it necessary to proceed to Nankin in order to inform the Tien

Wang of our intention to remain neutral, and also to make known our Treaty with China. He accordingly went up in H.M.S. *Hermes*, was well received, but had to combat the notion the insurgents had already assumed of our being tributaries to them. A copy of the Treaty was given them, and they were "warned that we should resent any injuries that they might commit on our subjects in the same way as we should the same if committed by the Imperialists, and that our desire was to remain neutral in the conflict."

The details of this visit are to be found in the Blue-books, and the general impression on the mind of the gentlemen who accompanied the expedition appears to be that in their new religion they had taken the Old Testament and religious tracts as a groundwork and had added to it a tissue of superstition and blasphemy.[1] Their Tien Wang or

[1] Mr. J. L. Holmes, an American Baptist, who paid a visit to the Tien Wang in 1860, entirely confirms this view. He says: "I had hoped that their doctrines, though crude and erroneous, might notwithstanding embrace some of the elements of Christianity. The Holy Spirit they make a nonentity. The whole transformation may be concisely stated in the language of Scripture: 'They have changed the truth of God into a lie, and they worship the creature more than the Creator.' Among the features of their theology that shocked me most may be mentioned the following:—They speak of the wife of the Heavenly Father, whom they call Tien-Ma (Heavenly Mother); and of the wife of Jesus, whom they call Tien-San (Heavenly Sister-in-law); also the Senior Western King has married a sister of Jesus, the daughter of the Heavenly Father, and is hence called Te Sue (Supreme Son-in-law). With reference to this last union, I learn that some well-informed persons are disposed to believe that the defunct Western King was simply a brother-in-law of the insurgent chief, and that in giving him the above title they do not intend to indicate a divine alliance. I can only say with reference to this, that

Emperor states that he was taken up to heaven by God in 1837; that he was instructed by God in celestial matters and given a seal and a sword; that God gave him and the Elder Brother "Jesus" orders to subdue devils, which they did, and then re-ascended again into heaven, where he, the Tien Wang, was invested with great authority; that his heavenly mother and heavenly sister, the wife of Jesus, were most beautiful, etc. That he, the Tien Wang, was sent down again from heaven to the earth, and that while on earth in 1848 God the Father with Jesus came down into the world and assisted him when in trouble. The Tien Wang also gave to the officers of the expedition the "Book of Celestial Decrees"—a collection of papers issued by God the Father and the Elder Brother Jesus, in

in all my conversation with the rebels, although I used various arguments to convince them that they could not with propriety speak of the Heavenly Father having a natural daughter, no one denied that this was their meaning. She was once a woman living upon earth (according to my teacher's account, who pressed the inquiry farther than I did), but like the Saviour, she came down from heaven, and was the daughter of the Heavenly Father, as Jesus was His son. Furthermore, they do hold that Tien Wang is the son of God as really and in the same manner that Jesus is. Some of their most intelligent men, with whom I conversed, defended their worshipping him upon precisely this ground. 'He is the Son of God, and in worshipping him we worship God,' they said. That this worship is of the same character as that addressed to Jesus and to the Heavenly Father there can be no doubt. No one defended it upon the ground that it was not. On the other hand, they defended it upon the ground of his claim to divine worship. The assumptions which he makes in his proclamation, it appears to me, moreover, would unmistakably indicate the kind of worship he would demand. The son of the chief is likewise a member of the divine family. He is the adopted son of Jesus, and is appointed to be the head of all the nations. So it is stated in the edict translated above, and so it was explained to us by those familiar with their

which the Taeping soldiers are ordered to fight, to subdue the country, and threatened with death if they retreat, urged to secrete no booty but to give it up for the general good, that they were not to live in sloth, but should consider whose rice they were eating, as an inducement to them to go out and kill their enemies, etc. etc.

The tenets of their religion are contained in twelve pamphlets, of which an able digest has been drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, and published in the Blue-books giving an account of the expedition.

While on the subject of their religion it may be as well to mention that several missionaries visited the Taepings to ascertain themselves the truth of their professions. Speaking the language and ready to

theories. Polygamy is another dark feature of their system. The Tien Wang has married about thirty wives, and has in his harem about one hundred women. The other kings are limited to thirty. The other high officers are also allowed a plurality of wives.

"I had hoped, too, that though crude and erroneous in their notions, they would yet be ready to stand an appeal to the Bible, and to be instructed by those competent to expound its truths. Here, too, I was disappointed. They have a new revelation which is to be their criterion of truth, and are quite competent to instruct us. In fact, they bear in their hands a divine decree to which we are to submit, according to their account. To be sure, they invite missionaries to come —they invited me to remain, or to return and remain with them. But it is easy to see how long they would be willing to tolerate a man who would preach doctrines radically opposed to those which they themselves promulgate, and upon which they found their claim to the obedience of China and the rest of the world. Their willingness, if indeed they are willing to receive Christian missionaries among them, is doubtless founded upon a misapprehension of their true character. They suppose that the missionary will prove an instrument which they can bend to suit their own purposes. Exceptions might, perhaps, be made in favour of individuals—it is of those who hold the reins of power that I speak."

be favourably disposed towards them, the following may be taken as the result of the inquiries.

The Rev. J. Holmes, before referred to, who was murdered by the Nienfei robbers, twenty-seven miles from Yeutai (Chefoo) on 6th October 1861, writing in 1860, after a visit to Nankin, says: "I found to my sorrow nothing of Christianity but its names falsely applied to a system of revolting idolatry. Their idea of God is distorted until it is inferior, if possible, to that entertained by other Chinese idolaters. The idea they entertain of a Saviour is low and sensual, and His honours are shared by another. The Eastern King is a Saviour from disease as He is a Saviour from sin."

The Tien Wang issued an edict[1] for the in-

[1] This edict of the Tien Wang was couched in the following terms:—

"I, Tien Wang, issue an edict for the information of such leaders of soldiers as there may be in the outer tribes. The ten thousand nations should submit to the Heavenly Father, Lord above, Supreme Father. The ten thousand nations should submit to the Saviour of the world, the Great Brother, Christ: heaven, earth, and man, the past, the present, and the future, are all then at peace. The Father formerly descended into the world and proclaimed his laws with reference to the present time. The Elder Brother formerly bore the sins of men, calling the knife to slay the evil spirits. The Elder Brother had previously said, 'The kingdom of heaven comes near and it will surely arrive.' The Father and the Elder Brother have descended upon earth and established the heavenly kingdom, and have taken me and the junior lord to regulate affairs appertaining to this world. Father, Son, and royal grandson are together Lords of the new heaven and earth. The Saviour and the junior lord are sons of the Heavenly Father, Shang-ti; also the Great Brother Christ's son, and my son, is lord. The Father and the Elder Brother, together with me, three persons, constitute one. They have truly commanded the junior lord to be the head of the ten thousand nations. Know all of you, your Eastern and Western Kings, and that the holy will of the Supreme and of Christ are given me through them, that I may from them thence take the people up to heaven and lead them

formation of Mr. Holmes, and the "junior lord" or son of Tien Wang, a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, issued two edicts to instruct foreigners at the same time.[1]

This "junior lord" is the temporal representative of his father, whose office is exclusively

to the heavenly abode. In ancient times, and at present heretofore, and hereafter, all submit to the Heavenly Father. All 'neath heaven are happy in ascending together to the heavenly capital and to the heavenly palace. The Father and the Elder Brother's precepts are obediently handed down through all ages. The Father laboured six days, and all should glorify the great Heavenly Supreme. In the year Tien-yow, the Father sent and took me up to heaven. The Elder Brother and I will, in person, expel the serpent, the devil, and cast him into hell. In the year Yuh-shun, the Father and Elder Brother descended into the world, in order, through me and the junior lord, to establish endless peace. The Gospel has long been preached—you now behold true happiness and glory. The Father and Elder Brother, merciful and loving, are truly omnipresent. Let all rulers and people beneath the heavens rejoice and be glad. Thus I decree."

By "leaders of soldiers" is meant the heads of foreign nations. The "junior lord" was a son of Tien Wang, and proclaimed as the adopted son of Jesus. The heavenly capital means Nankin, and the heavenly palace of course Tien Wang's abode.

[1] The following is an exact copy of one of these edicts:—

"In obedience to the command of my Heavenly Grandfather, my Heavenly Father, and my father, I issue an edict to inform the Western Ocean outer tribes. You truly honour your Father and know Christ the Saviour of the world. You are indeed sent of heaven, and are a leader of soldiers. If indeed faithful and true, and if you come at the command of heaven, with a strong heart, uphold the cause of heaven, and promote peace. Faithfully honour Grandfather, (adopted) Father, father, and me. If true and faithful in repaying your obligations to the nation, you will be faithful and true. I will commend you as faithful if you are indeed patient in faithfulness. In preaching the Gospel for a long time yours is a great merit, at which Grandfather, (adopted) Father, father, and myself are all pleased. When you behold Grandfather and father, there will be bestowed a high rank. I will commend you if with a faithful heart you honour the Supreme. If you all know the Grandfather and father the way to Heaven is open. Earnestly, faithfully, and with a strong heart ascend the heavenly kingdom, and heaven will bestow upon you a rank the highest of ten thousand thousand. Thus I decree."

spiritual. He was proclaimed to be the adopted son of Jesus.

Mr. Holmes states that "we witnessed their worship. It occurred at the beginning of their Sabbath, midnight of Friday. It occurred in Chung Wang's private audience room. He was seated in the midst of his attendants—no females were present. They first sang or chanted, after which a written prayer was read and burned by an officer, upon which they rose and sang again and then separated. The Chung Wang sent for me again before he left his seat and asked if I understood their worship. I replied that I had just seen it for the first time, and that I thought all departure from the rules laid down in Scripture was erroneous. He extenuated their change from these rules by stating that the Tien Wang had been to heaven and had seen the Heavenly Father. Our revelation, the Bible, had been handed down for 1800 years, and that they had received a new additional revelation through the Tien Wang, and upon this they could adopt a different mode of worship."

Mr. Holmes was to have been accorded an interview with the Tien Wang, and was taken to the latter's palace, where he was presented to the Tien Wang's family, who were seated at the entrance of a deep recess, over which was written, "Illustrious Heavenly Door," and at the end of which was the Tien Wang's throne, which was vacant. The company waited for the arrival of the Western King,

whose presence seemed to be necessary before they could proceed with the ceremonies. That dignitary, a boy of twelve or fourteen, made his appearance and took his place with the royal group. They then proceeded with their ceremonies as follows :—First, they kneeled with their faces to the Tien Wang's seat, and uttered a prayer to their Heavenly Brother. Then, kneeling with their faces in the opposite direction, they prayed to the Heavenly Father, after which they again kneeled with their faces to the Tien Wang's seat and repeated a prayer to him. They then concluded by singing in a standing position. A roast pig and the body of a goat were lying with other articles on tables in the outer court, and a fire was kept burning on a stone altar in front of the Tien Wang's seat."

On conversing with the Chung Wang soon after this interview with respect to the conflicting points between the Bible and the Tien Wang's doctrines, Mr. Holmes found it impossible to gain his attention to these matters. He confessed carelessly that the two did not agree, but that as "Tien Wang's revelation was more recent than the Bible, it was more authoritative."

Mr. Holmes states "that he could not perceive there was any elevation of character or sentiment to distinguish them from the great mass of the Chinese population. Indeed, the effect of his, the Tien Wang's, pretensions to kill the Manchus appears to have annihilated in their minds all consciousness of

crimes committed against those not of their own faith. To rob and murder an adherent of the Manchu Dynasty is a virtuous deed. To carry away his wife or daughter for infamous purposes, or his son to train up to the army, are legitimate acts." The boys in Nankin were questioned, and found to come from five separate provinces. Wherever the rebels had overrun the country they had captured and led away the boys with them, and the number of comely-looking women that were seen showed the way the rebel soldiers provided themselves with wives.

Among the features of the rebel theology that influenced Mr. Holmes in his opinion may be mentioned the way the rebels speak of the wife of the Heavenly Father, whom they called Tien-Ma (Heavenly Mother), of the wife of Jesus, whom they call Tien-San (Heavenly Sister-in-law), also of the Western King, who is said to have married a sister of Jesus, the daughter of the Heavenly Father, and is thence called Te Sue, or Supreme Son-in-law. With reference to the last union, it may be said that the Western King being simply the brother-in-law of the Tien Wang, his being given a title did not indicate a divine alliance; but none of the rebels Mr. Holmes spoke with denied but what this was the case. They said that the wife of the Western King was once a woman living on earth, and, like our Saviour, came down from heaven, and was the daughter of the Heavenly Father, as Jesus was His son.

Furthermore, they held that Tien Wang is the son of God as really and in the same manner as Jesus is. The most distinguished men defended their worshipping him on precisely this ground. "He is the son of God, and in worshipping him we worship God." There was no doubt in Mr. Holmes's mind that this worship was of the same character as that addressed to Jesus and the Heavenly Father. The rebels also considered the son of the Tien Wang a member of the Divine family and the adopted son of Jesus.

Mr. Holmes was invited to remain with them, but it was easy for him to see how long they would tolerate a man who would preach doctrines opposed to those promulgated by them, and upon which they claim the obedience of the world. They suppose that the missionary will prove an instrument which they can bend to their own purposes, and whom they could use to conciliate foreign nations.

With respect to the Tien Wang himself, Mr. Holmes says that his horrible doctrines, which had served to break down every distinction between right and wrong in the minds of his soldiers, and had sent them forth to perform every enormity without remorse, have secured him the hatred of the masses of the people.

The Rev. W. Muirhead, who also visited them at Nankin, states that the Tien Wang believes that he is the veritable second son of God in common with Christ; and in contradistinction to other men,

Christ is not possessed of divine nature, but was commissioned, like himself, to accomplish a certain object, and he looks on Christ from this point of view, and claims a fraternal personal relationship with Him. That there is, according to his creed, a veritable Heavenly Father and Mother, a veritable Heavenly Brother (Christ) and Sister, with all of whom he individually sustains a peculiar family connection, and into that circle his own son has been received.

Further, that the essays published by Tien Wang are more the result of his trances and visions than of Bible study. A large part of them, although mixed with some truth, is a tissue of falsehood designed to promote the Tien Wang's selfish object.

Mr. Muirhead further writes that the Taepings wanted no foreign missionaries, being too proud and self-sufficient to trust to their teaching. He says their religious ritual consists in "saying grace" at meals, and chanting the doxologies on Friday night, while small squibs are fired off, gongs beaten, candles lighted, and a written prayer read and burnt, expressive of praise to God. The whole ceremony takes up but little time, and much resembles the ceremonies in use among their heathen countrymen.

Mr. Muirhead found in his inquiries that of the number of these rebels the greater part had been kidnapped, and on closer investigation he found the people in the greatest misery. They had been dragged from their homes, which had been burnt, and knew nothing of their families, whether dead or

alive. They were grievously oppressed by their taskmasters, and were compelled to labour with no other payment than their food. They had to submit, as they had no means of escape or redress. With respect to their destruction of idols, Mr. Muirhead considers that the rebels were actuated more by a love of reckless destruction than any religious fervour, of which the masses were completely free. It suffices for them that the Tien Wang has ordered it. In concluding his remarks Mr. Muirhead states, that looked on from a secular point of view, the rebellion is destructive: it breaks up all domestic and social ties, it annihilates trade, and blasts the peace and prospects of the Empire, and it was evident to him that the Ta tsing or Manchu Dynasty was far superior in its ruling qualities to this rebellion.

With respect to the religion of the Taepings, he looked on it as also destructive. Its aim was the subversion of the old religions, by means which would serve to introduce a spurious kind of Christianity; the Tien Wang, having but little idea of the spiritual character of his religion, would inaugurate a very superficial change, and, while outwardly there would be a difference, there would be but little radical alteration.

The visits of the Revs. J. Edkins and G. John of the London Missionary Society to Nankin, with the intention of remaining there, caused these gentlemen to completely change their views and to abandon their ideas of remaining. They found that the Tien

Wang had changed the name of the New Testament to that of the Former Testament, and his own revelation was to be the New Testament; while the Rev. J. Roberts, who was invited to Nankin by the Tien Wang in 1860 (being, as already stated, known to that personage when he was at Canton in 1847), and who remained with the Tien Wang for fifteen months, writes as follows: "That he believes Tien Wang to be a crazy man entirely unfit to organise a government, his religious toleration and multiplicity of chapels turn out a farce of no avail, in the spread of Christianity worse than useless; it merely amounts to a machinery for the promotion of his own political religion. Making himself equal to Jesus Christ, who, with God the Father, himself, and his own son, constitutes one Lord over all. No missionary who will not believe his divine appointment is safe with the rebels. A new revelation, plurality of wives, and an unscriptural faith and course of practice, are the characteristics of Tien Wang's religion. In such a formal heretical state religion is calculated to do no good in the way of saving souls."

Mr. Roberts does not believe that they have any hope of organising a government or attempting it. Martial law is the only law, and that of the severest kind. Mr. Roberts was driven from the city of Nankin in 1862 by the order of the Tien Wang, who could no longer endure his presence.

To multiply the testimony of visitors to the

rebels would lead to no further result than fatigue to the reader. Enough has been adduced to show (by the evidence of those gentlemen who had most kindly feelings towards them) that their religion was but little different from that of their fellow-countrymen. To those who may wish to be further enlightened on this matter reference had better be made to the parliamentary Blue-books and the missionary reports.

In concluding this subject, it will be henceforth taken for granted that the religion of the Taepings was a mere sham promulgated by the Tien Wang in the hope of conciliating foreign nations, with whose power of offence he was acquainted since our war in 1842, and that the mass of his adherents knew little of his doctrines but the form, which had little effect on their actions. It is a favourite idea with a certain class in England that the Taeping rebels were Christians, but although these persons bring forward prayers, etc., which are said to be used by the Taepings, they draw their information from the class of foreigners who supply the rebels with arms, and know not a word of the language, while in the above quotations and extracts there has been brought forward a mass of evidence utterly condemnatory of this sham religion, adduced by a class of men who have lived long in the country, are well versed in the language, would be only too glad to report favourably, and who are widely known in China as men of the highest respectability.

That Tien Wang ordered the printing of the Scriptures is perfectly true, but he was induced to do so by Mr. Roberts, his former teacher and visitor, and was in hopes of thereby gaining the goodwill of the foreign nations, and not by any desire to be guided by them in his actions.

As it is often said by the admirers of the Taepings that the present Government of China is Manchu, and therefore foreign, and that this rebellion is the attempt of the Chinese to throw off a foreign yoke, it may be as well to notice the composition of the Government, by which it will be seen that although the Imperial family are Manchus, all the posts of importance are held by Chinese, and that if they wished it they could easily, without trouble, subvert the present dynasty. The shaving of the head and wearing of the tail has become so completely an institution among the Chinese that even if they would they could not give up the practice. Witness our colonies of Singapore and Penang, where we have 70,000 Chinese settlers, and the Australian colonies, where there would be no hindrance to their resuming the habits or dress of the Ming Dynasty should they wish to do so.

The Government of the Empire and the Government of the provinces must be considered separately.

The supreme Government consists of two Imperial councils, the Inner Council and the General Council, and six Boards Luh Poo, that of Civil Office, Revenue, Rites, Music, War, Public Works.

There are also three other courts which have important functions, viz. that of the Censorate, Representation, and Criminal.

The Inner Council is merely an office for carrying on the routine of business. It consists of four principal Ministers and two assistant Ministers, alternately Tartar and Chinese. This Council attends daily on the Emperor (and during the regency on the Empress mother), and lays before him the affairs of the Empire, taking his orders thereon. It receives the Imperial decrees, which are transmitted by the General Council, and has the charge of the Imperial seals. It lays before the Emperor the various documents which have been discussed in the General Council, and with them the remarks thereon of that Council, and inscribes on the same the opinions of the Emperor, unless he writes himself, with the vermilion pencil, his opinion.

The General Council, which has the real power, consists of the Minister of the Inner Council, the presidents and vice-presidents of the various Boards. The duties of the Council are the writing of the Imperial decrees, edicts, and decisions, and the determination of such matters as are of importance to the nation in order to aid the Sovereign in regulating affairs. It assembles daily, and when admitted to the Imperial presence sits on mats. There are sixteen members in all, of whom nine are Manchus and seven Chinese.

Of the various Boards, each has two presidents, a

Chinese and a Manchu, and four vice-presidents, also a Chinese and a Manchu. Thus of the six Boards there are eighteen Manchus and eighteen Chinese.

The Board of Civil Office has the direction of all civil officials in the Empire.

The Board of Revenue has the direction of all the territorial arrangements and of the population, levying of taxes, etc.

The Board of Rites has to inquire respecting the applications of the five classes of ritual observances, sacrifices, reviews, receptions, etc.

The Board of Music, whose duties are too difficult to define.

The Board of War has the direction of all the military officers, promotion, distribution of commands, etc.

The Board of Punishments has the direction of the penal enactments, regulation of fines, etc.

The Board of Public Works has the direction of the public works throughout the Empire, and the charge of expenditure.

The Censorate or All-examining Court is entrusted with the care of the manners and customs, the investigation of the public offices both within and without the city, and the uprightness of the magistrates, etc.

The Court of Representatives receives memorials from the provinces, and the appeals of the people from the judgments of the provincial officers to the Emperor.

The Criminal Court has the duty of adjusting all criminal punishments in the Empire.

In all cases of capital punishment the Board of Punishments, Censorate and Criminal Court, must be unanimous in its decisions.

The eighteen provinces of China, or the Middle Kingdom, are governed each by a Futai or governor; and over two or three provinces, and sometimes over five provinces, is a chetar or viceroy, or governor-general.

Of the eighteen Futais or governors, fifteen are Chinese and the remainder Manchus.

Of the nine chetais or governors-general, eight are Chinese and the remainder Manchus.

Thus it is very evident that although the Manchus have the name, the Chinese have the power, for the subordinate places throughout the Empire are filled by Chinamen, and it is a peculiar feature that at the capture of Nankin in 1864 there was not one Manchu present. Sang-ko-lin Sin kept away from the place, although his being present would have made no difference in the above statement, he being a Mongolian. In short, to see a Manchu in the provinces is a very rare thing; they have been so intermixed that there is no difference between them and the Chinese, and it would be a difficult thing to eliminate them. The size of their provinces is very large both in extent and population, that of Kiangsoo being 37,000,000, that of Aujuhin being 34,000,000, that of Chikiang being

24,000,000. These provinces have suffered most from the rebellion, and it is said have suffered a loss of 8,000,000 from the ravages of the rebels during the last ten years.

It is now necessary to go back to the period when Tien Wang established his Court at Nankin and consecrated the city, March 1853, by the name of the Heavenly Capital. A regular army was formed, and the Tung Wang or Eastern King (who had had the supreme command and direction of the rebels during their march from Hankow) was appointed Minister of State; the Pei Wang or Northern King and the E Wang or Shih ta kai, the Assistant King, were also in office.

The Tung Wang was, however, the soul of the movement, and began to presume on his position with Tien Wang, who had now married some thirty wives, and had shut himself up from the public gaze, being waited on by women, and issuing edicts and decrees on all subjects so wrapped up with religious phrases as to be almost unintelligible. The Western and Southern Kings having been killed on the march from Kiangsi, their sons or adopted sons took their titles.

The Tung Wang began to assume greater powers, and aimed at supplanting the Tien Wang. He had trances at different times, during which he uttered orders and exhortations, ordered men to be brought before him whom he declared traitors, convicts and condemns them to immediate decapitation,

speaking as the Heavenly Father. When the trances are over the Tung Wang pretends utter unconsciousness of what has passed, and only learns what he has said from those around him. In this way the Heavenly Father issues orders to be given to the Tung Wang himself, and when the trance is over, which is termed the return of the Father into heaven, he is told what the Heavenly Father has ordered, they being communications from himself to himself. The Western King or Shih Wang used to have similar trances, and utter commands or exhortations as the words of the Heavenly Elder Brother; but his death put a stop to this.

The Tung Wang on the 25th December 1853 had a trance at Nankin which resulted in alarming the Tien Wang as to his ultimate intentions: it appears that after a council he fell into a trance, and then the Heavenly Father sent for the Pei Wang. When the Pei Wang was sent for he gave some orders to himself, which were that he was to go to Tien Wang and reprove him for harshness to his women and over-indulgence to his son the "junior lord" and heir-apparent of the sovereignty. The Heavenly Father had returned to heaven before the Pei Wang had arrived. They were informed of the nature of the instructions of the Heavenly Father to the Tung Wang, and they all started to carry out those orders for the Tien Wang's palace, but *en route* the Heavenly Father came down again (*i.e.* the Tung Wang fell into a trance in his sedan chair)

and issued commands to the Pei Wang (who got out of his chair and knelt in the street to receive them) that he should be taken to Tien Wang's palace, and that Tien Wang should come out and receive him. Accordingly they started off, and the Tien Wang is brought out and made to kneel to the Heavenly Father (*i.e.* the Tung Wang in a trance). The Heavenly Father reproves the Tien Wang angrily and orders him forty blows. The Northern King or Pei Wang and other officers beg the Heavenly Father to remit them and offer to receive the blows themselves. The Tien Wang says he deserves them and lies down to receive them, when the Heavenly Father, in consideration of his obedience, pardons him, and returns to heaven (*i.e.* the Eastern Prince or Tung Wang awakes from his trance).

The Tung Wang is then informed of the descent of the Heavenly Father, and repeats to Tien Wang the instructions he had received from the Heavenly Father in his first descent. The Tien Wang then persists in having the blows inflicted, but is comforted when reminded of what happened in 1837 when he, the Tien Wang, was in heaven, and when a devil presumptuously appeared, whom the Heavenly Father allowed him to spare if the devil made submission, and from which fact it may be adduced that trifling errors such as he, the Tien Wang, had been guilty of might be pardoned. The conference then ends, but two days after, in another audience between the Tien Wang, Tung Wang, and Pei Wang, the

Tien Wang declares that considering what the Tung Wang has done, and what has been written about the Comforter, the Tung Wang must be that Comforter, which title Tung Wang assumed, calling himself the Holy Ghost the Comforter in his array of titles. The Doxology was also altered to admit the Eastern King or Tung Wang as the Holy Ghost, and in which five persons are praised.[1]

Having now explained the position of the Tung Wang in Nankin, it will be as well to turn to military events, in which a great deal is to be learnt from the autobiography of Chung Wang or the Faithful King. This man, whose name is Le tze ching, was a native of Kwangsi. The rebels on the way northward passed close to his house, when he was forced to join them. Consuming all the provisions of the country people, burning their houses, and taking their clothes, etc., the rebels forced the villagers to accompany them some distance, when these latter, being mixed with the rebels, were afraid to return for fear of being taken by the Imperialist troops,

[1] "As soon as the person of the Tien Wang was moved into Nankin the city was consecrated (that is, it received its present designation of Heavenly Capital). A regular army was now formed, and a military system introduced. The Tung was entrusted with the duties of Minister of State. Everything was set in order and invested with strictness. Laws were enacted for maintaining peace among the people. A distinction was made between male and female—each had his or her proper sphere of duty allotted out, and a hundred things were put in practice. Those of a military turn were enrolled in the army, and those unwilling to join were allowed to return home. Males were disallowed to converse with females, and mothers were not allowed to hold communication with their sons."—Chung Wang's *Autobiography.*

who were dogging the rebels. They were accordingly forced to proceed and throw their fortunes in with the rebellion. Le was an active man of twenty-six years, he mounted rapidly, and was favoured by Tung Wang, who gave him one of the gates of Nankin to guard.

Very soon after the capture of Nankin by the rebels the Imperialist General Heang and the ex-rebel Chang yu liang, with some 1000 Manchus and 30,000 Chinese troops, advanced on Nankin, while a Manchu general Chi with another army threatened Chinkiang. The Tung Wang, who was paramount in Nankin, ordered Le tze ching (afterwards Chung Wang) and Chen (afterwards Ying Wang or the Four-Eyed Dog, as he was called by the Imperialists) to relieve Chinkiang, which, strictly blockaded, was in great danger.

Arrangements were made with Lo ta kang, the rebel chief inside Chinkiang, to make a sortie at the same time as Le (the Chung Wang), and Chen (the Ying Wang) attacked from the outside. The same was carried out and resulted in perfect success. General Chi's troops were driven back and sixteen stockades taken.

Encouraged by their success, the rebels crossed the Yangtze river and captured Yongchow and Kwachow, which, however, they did not hold, but collected all the provisions and returned to Chinkiang.

Generals Heang yung and Chang kwoh liang had,

however, established themselves closer to the walls of Nankin, and the Tien Wang wrote for succour. Le (the Chung Wang) found that his return to Nankin by the south bank of the Yangtze was barred by the Imperialists. He therefore attempted to get back to the city by the north bank by Pukiou and Louho, but Chang kwoh liang crossed over before he could accomplish his intention, and took up a position at Louho. Le was turned back, and crossed over to the south bank and fell on the weakened Imperialists on the south bank and defeated them. Chang kwoh liang now recrossed and opposed Le's march, but was defeated, and the route to Nankin was opened to the rebels.

The Eastern King or Tung Wang now ordered Le to drive away Heang yung, under pain of death. Le and Chen consulted and put their troops in movement against Heang yung's forces, who were dismayed by Chang kwoh liang's defeat, and who after a struggle were defeated and driven back from their intrenchments to Tayau with heavy loss. Le and Chen followed them up and besieged them in Tayau, where the unfortunate Heang yung strangled himself, much to Chang kwoh liang's regret, who was as a son to him, and who, infuriated, issued out of Tayau and defeated Le, driving him back to Chen-yung.

This brings us up to the year 1856, when so serious a revolution took place in Nankin as to give reason to believe that had it happened before the

defeat of Heang yung and Chang kwoh liang, the Imperialists would have been able in the confusion to capture the city.

The assumption of the Tung Wang has already been mentioned. He now preferred a claim to be styled "Ten Thousand Years," equivalent to the Eastern expression "May the king live for ever," which Tien Wang was styled, his own being "Nine Thousand Years."

This angered the Pei Wang and the E Wang, who plotted against him, and the Tien Wang not being at all favourable to the Tung Wang, they determined on his execution. The E Wang wanted only Tung Wang to be executed, and not his family or adherents.

The Pei Wang laid his plot, and eventually assassinated the Tung Wang in Tien Wang's presence, who had but little wish to interrupt the same. The E Wang had agreed to his, the Tung Wang's death, and to that of his three brothers, but not to that of his adherents or family. The Pei Wang, however, killed all the Tung Wang's followers, some 20,000, male and female. The E Wang was in Angwhui when he heard of this massacre. He marched on Nankin in order to stop the slaughter, and entered the city. He had to fly for his life, for the Pei Wang ordered his execution, and he escaped back to Nganking with the greatest difficulty. Pei Wang then executed all the adherents and followers of the E Wang. He then continued

his cruelties, which became so intolerable that at last the people rose and he was assassinated by Tien Wang's order, and his head sent to E Wang, who now returned to Nankin and was placed in charge of the government. The majesty or rather vanity of the Tung Wang was gaining ground. Being at the head of the dynasty he felt himself in an independent position, and was heedless of the jealousy he was creating around. Wei ching-hui, Shih ta kai, and Chin Ji Chang, being the promoters of the rebellion, were enraged at the Tung Wang's behaviour in arrogating to himself such majesty, and though openly civil, bore inward malice against him. The Pei Wang was likewise galled at the Tung Wang, and subsequently assassinated him. The original agreement between the Pei Wang and the Yi Wang was that the Tung Wang alone should be killed, as he was the one that was much confided in by the Tien Wang, and his power was too much on the increase. He wanted the Tien Wang to make him a "Wan-sui," and on account of his wielding the power single-handed, he finally compelled the Tien Wang to proceed in person to his palace and perform the ceremony there. The Pei Wang and Yi Wang were moved at this, and determined secretly to exterminate the Tung Wang as well as his three brothers, but no more. The Pei Wang, however, slew the whole of the Tung Wang's relations and followers, both civil and military, male and female. As soon as the Yi Wang learnt of this

slaughter he was much annoyed, and in company with Teeng-chin-chien and Chang-jui-mu, marched at once to the capital with the intention of endeavouring to spare life. He was, however, surprised to find the Pei Wang bent on murdering him, so he scaled the wall near the south gate, and made his way to Nganking, with the determination to have revenge when he could. The Pei Wang then killed the whole of the Yi Wang's family. When the Yi Wang moved with the Hung-shan troops to the rescue of Ning-kuo, the Pei Wang had then arrived at the zenith of his cruelty; he was killing indiscriminately good and bad, civil and military, females as well as males, and small and great. The whole popular voice was raised against him, and as he was becoming too intolerable to be borne any longer, he was at last assassinated—when the people became a little settled. The head of the Northern King was subsequently sent to Ning-kuo for the inspection of the Yi Wang, who recognised it as being the head of no other than his enemy.

The Tien Wang, however, did not like him, and placed with him his own brothers, Hung-jen-fa or the Kan Wang, and Hung-jen-ta or the Fu Wang. E Wang was of good family, and well educated in military and civil matters. His name, Shih ta kai, is best known of all the rebel leaders, but he found his position with the two brothers of Tien Wang so unbearable that he left the capital and prosecuted his conquests in Kiangsi,

where he was opposed by Tseng kwoh fan. He afterwards went to Szechnen, where he is now. Nankin was now without any man of talent to conduct the government, and at last Tien Wang made Le tze ching (Chung Wang) an Under Secretary of State, and committed the public affairs to him, and Chen (the Ying Wang or Four-Eyed Dog), and two others.

Le was sent to Angwhui with orders to hold it, while Chen took over the troops of the E Wang, who were engaged in attacking Tseng kwoh fan when that person went to Nankin (after the death of the Pei Wang).

The rebels held in 1856 Chinkiang on the Grand Canal (this city was taken by assault by the British troops under Lord Gough in the war of 1842), Nankin, Chuyung, some twenty miles from Nankin, Taeping, the Eastern and Western Pillars (a very strong position on the river some few miles higher up than Taeping), Tunghu, Woohoo, Nganking and Kinkiang, they possessed also some towns away from the river, while the E Wang, who had separated from the Tien Wang, was working towards Hankow.

The principal forces of the rebels were placed as follows, viz. Le (Chung Wang) was at Tungching, a city forty miles north of Nganking, defending the advance on that place; Chen (Ying Wang) was besieging Tseng kwoh fu on the south bank of the Yangtze river.

The Imperialists under General Ho Chun were besieging Chinkiang, and another force was blockading Tungching, while Chang kwoh liang with a large force was besieging Chuyung.

In 1857 it appears that Chang kwoh liang captured Chuyung and advanced to Nankin and invested it a second time, while on the other hand Le (Chung Wang), who was besieged at Jung-cheng, having obtained the assistance of Chen (the Ying Wang or Four-Eyed Dog) and his troops, manœuvred so as to envelop the Imperialists, who were besieging him, and to utterly defeat them. Chen was made general and assumed the title of Ying Wang or the Heroic King, and Le was made lieutenant-general. The Ying Wang now had many indecisive encounters with Tseng kwoh fan's troops after this, in which neither side gained much. Tseng kwoh an had under him Li-hung-chang, the present Futai of Kiangsoo, his brother Tseng kwoh tsuen, and Pauou Chiaou, an afterwards celebrated general.

There is considerable doubt as to the whereabouts of the E Wang or Shih ta kai both at this time and afterwards. That he was alive is certain, and in rebellion either in Kiangsi or Szechuen. He had the character of being the most capable of all the rebel leaders.

In 1857 General Ho pressed the siege of Chinkiang so hard as to cause Tien Wang to recall Le and the Ying Wang to its defence, and to relieve Nankin itself, also threatened by Chang kwoh liang.

Le (the Chung Wang) remonstrated with the Tien Wang for having angered the E Wang, and wanted him to recall him, but the Tien Wang answered his memorial by degrading him. However, on his protesting against the same, he was restored to his rank, and started with the Ying Wang to relieve Chinkiang. They were able only to extricate the garrison, who were in great distress, and Chinkiang fell into the hands of the Imperialists.

II

CANTON was taken (28th December 1857) about this time by the British and French forces in retaliation for the outrages on the Arrow Lorcha in October 1856.[1]

[1] MR. BRUCE TO LORD J. RUSSELL.—(*Received 29th September.*)

SHANGHAE, *1st August* 1860.

A man called Heung-jin, a relation of Hung seu tsuen, and who has been educated by, or has had considerable intercourse with Europeans, is now playing a prominent part among the insurgents, being, as I understand, the second man in authority among them. He has written a pamphlet, of which I trust shortly to be able to send a translation, advocating intercourse with foreigners on a footing of equality, the introduction of steam-vessels, railways, and other western inventions, and containing sounder and more enlightened views of Christianity. He entertains the highest admiration for the talents and virtues of his relation the "Heavenly King," and faith in the revelations which he professes to receive from time to time of the Divine will from the Divine Being Himself.

I have as yet no means of judging whether Heung-jin is sincere, or whether, finding that the mass of the population are hostile to the insurgents, he has written this work in the hopes of enlisting the sympathies of Christendom in his favour. Nor do I know how far these opinions on foreign intercourse, so different from the tone and demeanour which have hitherto characterised the leaders of this movement, are making way among them generally. My impression is, that both the prospects of the extension of pure Christianity in China through the instrumentality of these men, and the success of the insurrection among the Chinese, viewed as a political movement against the Tartar Government, have suffered materially from the religious character Hung seu tsuen's leadership has imparted to it.

Not only the gentry and educated classes, but the mass of the

At the beginning of 1858 the rebels vacated Kinkiang, but continued to hold Hocheon and the other towns previously mentioned, with the exception of Chuyung and Chinkiang, which they had lost.

Nankin was strictly invested, but was in no want of provisions. The apathy of the Tien Wang was most galling to Le (the Chung Wang), who wished

people, regard with deep veneration the sages upon whose authority their moral and social education for so many generations has reposed. And the profession of novel doctrines, resting on the testimony of a modern and obscure individual, must tend not only to deprive the revolt of its character as a national rising against the Tartar yoke, but must actually transfer to the Tartars and their adherents the prestige of upholding national traditions and principles against the assaults of a numerically insignificant sect.

On the other hand, the insurgents are obliged to fill their ranks with men taken by force in the districts they occupy, and to accept the services of the needy and dissolute, whose only object is robbery and pillage. These men commit excesses wherever they go; and as they are, I believe, compelled to participate in certain external practices considered as the badge of Christianity, the idea of our religion cannot fail to be associated in the minds of the mass of the peaceable population with the sufferings they endure at the hands of its so-called adherents, while its humane and merciful character, so fitted to recommend itself to and to evoke the higher qualities of our common nature, is tarnished by its alliance with men who openly wage a war of extermination against their enemies.

Heung-jin has sent a copy of this pamphlet to the Protestant missionaries, and has invited them to join him at Souchow; and the Rev. Mr. Edkins, a very estimable and learned person of that body, conversed with me on the subject. Though I did not consider myself entitled to interfere to prevent his going at a time when other persons were allowed to proceed unquestioned to Souchow for purposes of traffic, I addressed him the enclosed letter, pointing out the questionable propriety of the proceeding, and the prejudicial results it may have on the liberty of access hitherto enjoyed by mercantile men to the districts in rebel occupation.

Mr. Edkins, however, considers the call of duty to preach the Gospel to these men as imperative; and I only hope that the same zeal will lead him to protest against the sanguinary, destructive, and unchristian spirit in which these professors of Christianity carry on the war.

Heung-jin has also sent a letter to Mr. Meadows addressed jointly

to drive away the Imperialists, but in order to do so wanted to have Nankin to collect troops, and concert with the Ying Wang on the necessary steps to be taken. The Tien Wang would not allow it. However, after some delay, Le went up to the palace, and striking the gong (which is placed at the entrance-hall of every important official in China, to be struck by any one requiring justice from that official), was received by the Tien Wang on his throne. The in-

to the Consuls of the three Treaty Powers, through Mr. Jenkins, the Interpreter to the American Consulate, who has lately visited Souchow on a trading speculation. It is very undesirable in my opinion, that the Consuls should enter into any communication with the rebels, and I accordingly instructed Mr. Meadows to that effect. I also directed him in future to decline receiving any letter addressed to others as well as himself, on account of the difficulty of dealing with these matters in common.

I do not like to dogmatise on the prospects of the insurrection. We are without information as to the number of those in its ranks who may be considered as really Christian, and who are said to be devoted to their chiefs and amenable to discipline. I should infer from the accounts that they show greater determination in the field of battle than the Imperialists, though they are ill provided with firearms and ammunition. The possession of Shanghai, and the access thus given to foreign supplies, would soon render them a much more formidable body than they have hitherto been, and in conversation I know that one of their chiefs expressed the intention, sooner or later, of effecting its capture; but at present the village population seem disposed to resist, and probably the insurgents will in the first instance try to gain foreign support by showing a friendly disposition to merchants and missionaries. None of their warmest advocates as yet assert that they have shown any capacity or wish to organise the districts in their possession. They appear to overrun them, extract their resources, and then abandon them with the exception of some walled towns, which soon lose under their sway all trace of industry and commercial activity. The Government seems unable to put them down, or even to turn to account the aversion felt for them by the rural population, who are thus left without any unity of direction or command to attempt an unavailing resistance, and then see their villages and property destroyed.

It is impossible to witness the calamities arising out of this civil

terview was satisfactory. Le was allowed to go and collect troops, having persuaded the Tien Wang not to trust to his two brothers, the Kan and Fu Wang, who had caused the E Wang to leave their cause.

Le (Chung Wang) went down to Woohoo, and taking 5000 men, crossed the river to the north bank, and commenced moving towards the north of Nankin, when the Imperialists captured Hocheon. Le's endeavours were frustrated by this, as he intended to have marched by the north bank of the Yangtze to Pukiou, a town on the opposite bank,

contest without feeling sympathy and regret for the industrious and peaceable mass of the population on whom the burden of these calamities is made to fall.

MR. BRUCE TO THE REV. J. EDKINS.

SHANGHAE, *28th July* 1860.

MY DEAR SIR—In our rather desultory conversation this morning I did not, perhaps, make my meaning perfectly clear.

I do not wish, for very obvious reasons, to be called upon to take part for or against the insurgents. I am not bound by treaty to assist the Imperialists; and, on the other hand, similarity of belief and sympathy are not grounds sufficient to justify a foreign nation in taking part in a civil contest. The modifications of their pretensions to which you alluded, if accepted by the chiefs, and their novel anxiety for foreign intercourse, so different from their former haughty tone, are to me strong presumptive proofs that the industrious and quiet part of the Chinese population remain as much indisposed as ever to join them.

At present the Taepings are merely a body of men in arms against their legitimate Government; and, in my opinion, it is a question open to discussion how far foreigners, who are resident in China under the faith of Treaties with it, and whose privileges and security depend on their faithful observance, are justified in countenancing the movement by their presence and counsels. Certainly I should be very much at a loss to defend the proceeding on any recognised principle of international dealing, were the Chinese authorities to complain of it, or to remonstrate were they in consequence to take measures to put a stop to all intercourse with the district in rebel occupation.—I have, etc.,

FREDERICK W. A. BRUCE.

and *vis à vis* to Nankin, and which, if he could gain, would enable him to throw reinforcements into that city. He, however, made the attempt, retook Hocheon, and gained several victories, but was unexpectedly attacked and defeated with heavy loss in his march to Pukiou. Nankin was now in a sad state, for it was blockaded on the north and east, and might expect soon to be closed up on the south, which would surround it, as on the river from the west front the Imperialists had the superiority throughout the rebellion.

Le (Chung Wang), however, sent to Ying Wang, who had also been roughly handled in Hupih by Tseng kwoh fan, and to other chiefs, and concerted a scheme to take Pukiou and relieve Nankin.

Chang kwoh liang pushed over a large body of troops to oppose the attempt; but the onslaught of the Ying Wang and Le (Chung Wang) was so violent that both he and the other Imperialists were driven back with tremendous slaughter (some 15,000 men) and Pukiou was taken. Le now pushed forward and captured Yongchow for the third time, there being no troops in it: the Prefect of the town was taken, but his life spared.

No sooner had this been done than Ying Wang received a despatch telling him that the Imperialists under Li-su-piu had captured Tungching and several other cities, and that Tseng kwoh fan had laid siege to Nganking.

The Ying Wang and Le started off, and although

at first they suffered a reverse, they at last managed to get Li-su-piu and his forces so placed that they could neither advance nor retreat. Li-su-piu committed suicide, and his men entered the rebel ranks, where, however, they did not long remain, for a dispute having arisen, they killed some of the original rebels, and were then ordered to be exterminated by the Ying Wang.

Le and the Ying Wang now advanced on Tung-ching, which they captured by escalade, and by this capture raised the siege of Nganking, and opened their communication with Nankin.

As the Imperialist possession of Toosung rendered the city of Nganking open to attack, they advanced against it, but they were met and defeated by Pauou Chiaou, and Ying Wang lost all his camps. Pauou Chiaou, a protégé of Tseng kwoh fan, was the best general the Imperialists had: he is a short man, forty years of age, and very energetic. He was selected by the Pekin Government to oppose the allies in 1860, but did not go up to the north.

This takes the rebellion up to the end of 1858, during which year the British forces had taken the Takoo Forts (20th May), and Lord Elgin had forced the Imperialists to sign the Treaty of Tientsin (26th June).

Le (the Chung Wang), however, had a serious defection to contend with. One of his most trustworthy officers, Li-Chao-Show, whom he had placed

at Kiangpu, near Pukiou (on his capture of that place from Chang kwoh liang) went over to the Imperialists with all his troops. However, Le managed to secure Pukiou, although the renegade, having established himself at Kiangpu, had again intercepted the communication from Hocheon to Nankin, which had been opened with such difficulty. Le in his autobiography complains bitterly of this man's treachery. He, however, deluded Tien Wang into letting his wife leave Nankin, and sent her to him, thus saving her life, which was forfeit, according to Chinese laws, for her husband's treachery.

The rebels at the beginning of 1859 held Nankin, Lowhoo, Tungching, Hocheon, Tunghu, Nganking, Woohoo, the two Pillars, and Taeping fu.[1]

At the end of 1858 Lord Elgin, having concluded a Treaty with Japan, ascended the river Yangtze to Hankow in the *Furious* (Captain Sherard Osborne, R.N.), accompanied by four steamers or gunboats, and from the reports made by the expedition it appears that Nankin was severely pressed by Chang kwoh liang, who had a large force close to the city, both on the north and south of the Yangtze, where he had a large fleet of gunboats. Nganking was also beleaguered by Tseng kwoh fan's forces.

The mission did not pass by Nankin without being fired on by the rebels; but on the ships open-

[1] *Wilson.*

ing fire on them in return they ceased firing, and sent an apology.

The mission found Woohoo, Nganking, and Nankin in a semi-ruinous state; there was a total absence of commercial life, and dearth of population. At Nankin the rebels gave them some of their religious works, which were similar to those already described.

The year 1859 was commenced by the Imperialists under Chang kwoh liang crossing the Yangtze, and investing Pukiou, on the north bank; while a portion of his forces moved off and besieged Louho. Le (the Chung Wang) sent to the Ying Wang for help, who came by Luhgan and Loochow, and attacked the Imperialists at Louho, but was repulsed. The rebel chiefs then fell back and marched on Yongchow, with the intention of drawing off the Imperialists to defend that city. Their attempt succeeded: the Imperialists followed them, and they turned on them, cut them off, and defeated them, raising the siege of Louho. The rebels now pushed on, and storming the position of Chang kwoh liang in front of Pukiou, again opened the communication with Nankin; but they could not clear his forces away from Kiangpu, as Tseng kwoh fan's troops, being no longer opposed by Ying Wang, now began moving in Angwhui towards Nganking, and obliged that rebel chief to return and leave Le (the Chung Wang) in Pukiou.

The rebels were pressed for gunpowder, while

the troops of the Imperial generals Ho Chun and Chang kwoh liang were in first-rate condition. The Tien Wang was suspicious of Le turning over to the Imperialists, and forbade his men to enter the city, retaining his wife and brother as hostages. The Tien Wang had reason for his suspicions, for Le was in correspondence with Li-Chao-Show, the confidential officer who had gone over to the Imperialists some short time before. However, the Tien Wang ignored this, and gave Le the title of Chung Wang or the Faithful King, by which title he will be henceforth known. Chung Wang says himself he does not know why he was thus rewarded at that particular time.[1]

Chang kwoh liang was pressed hard in Kiangpu; and the Chang Wang, despairing of saving it, went to Tien Wang and obtained permission to leave the city, and try to raise the siege from the outside.

Nankin began to be in want, and the Tien Wang was most reluctant for Chung Wang to leave; which

[1] "In addition to this we had no gunpowder; and at home there was no good man at the head of the Government. The Tien Wang preserved his air of unconcern for all outward matters, and as usual relied throughout upon Heaven. He did not think of inquiring about military or governmental matters, and I was left to get out of my dilemma at Pukiou as best I could. To make matters worse, suspicions were entertained that I intended joining the Imperialists, and my brother and wife detained in the city as hostages, in addition to which my men were forbidden to enter the city (Nankin). I was then in correspondence with Li-Chao-show; and the Tien Wang when he heard of this became apprehensive, and to secure my fidelity and guard against any change, conferred on me the title of the Faithful Prince. I myself was really ignorant of the cause of the honour being conferred on me."—Chung Wang's *Autobiography*.

he, however, did, and proceeded to Woohoo. Chang kwoh liang pushed on his attack against Pukiou, captured all the stockades outside of it, and took Chiu-fu-chow, a very important fort directly opposite Nankin, and on the edge of the north bank. This capture completed Chang kwoh liang's investment, and the rebel tenure of Nankin seemed likely soon to be over.

Chung Wang issued circulars to all the leaders from Woohoo, and began concerting schemes for the relief of Nankin.[1]

These events take us up to the end of 1859, in the summer of which our fleet had sustained the defeat by Sang-ko-lin Sin, who was given a yellow jacket for his services at the Takoo Forts (25th June

[1] "Although Nankin was at this time closely besieged, and the city but scantily supplied with provisions, the Tien Wang would not consent to my leaving in order to procure succour outside. The emergency of the time led me to use rather strong language, and I received a rebuff in consequence. The chief neither issued orders nor did he trouble himself at all about military matters, but, as before, trusted in Providence for everything; and this was about all he did. I had, therefore, no alternative left but to represent matters once more, and urge the absolute necessity of my quitting the city to obtain external aid. The Tien Wang, seeing that he could not stop me, finally consented to my leaving; and as soon as I had handed over my command at Pukiou to Huang-zu-lung and Chen-tzan-ming, I proceeded direct to Woohoo. Before many days the stockades outside Pukiou had all been carried by Chang's troops, and Chiu-fu-chow had likewise fallen. Nankin was now closer besieged than ever. The place was as secure as if an iron band had encircled it; but fate had decreed that it should not fall that time. The breath of the Heavenly Dynasty was not yet extinguished; on the contrary, a new impulse, as it were, diffused itself through the people's minds. I issued circular despatches to the commanders of the different stations, and found them all ready and willing to acknowledge me as general; and from this time the labour and responsibility of relieving Nankin devolved upon me."—Chung Wang's *Autobiography*.

1859), and which led to the outbreak of the war with the allies and the Imperialists in 1860.

In 1860 the Tien Wang was closely invested in Nankin by the War Commissioner Ho Chun and the Imperialist general Chang kwoh liang. Nganking, which had been pressed for the last eighteen months more or less, was now seriously threatened; the rebels held besides these cities, Pukiou, Woohoo Taeping, on the Yangtze river.[1]

Chung Wang arranged with Ying Wang that to extricate Nankin and Nganking, it would be necessary to draw off some of Chang kwoh liang's troops, by attacking Hangchow and the neighbouring districts, the source of the supplies of the Imperialist armies, besieging Nankin, in the hope by so doing of weakening off the Imperialists at Nankin, and thus compelling them to raise the siege.

Accordingly Chung Wang marched from Woohoo in January 1860, took Nanhu, which had held out against the rebels for three years hitherto, and passing Tseng kwoh fu, in March captured Knantechow on the west coast of the Taiho lake; Chung Wang then passed on to Hoochow at the south of the Taiho lake, and, leaving his cousin to besiege it, pushed on to Hangchow.

[1] "The prospect of the Taepings in the early spring of 1860 had become very gloomy. Pressed by want, the garrison of Nankin resorted to every possible means of sustaining life short of eating human flesh. The Imperial Government were highly elated, and the besieging force looked upon the fall of the city as a mere matter of weeks."—*Brine.*

The Imperialist, Chang kwoh liang, dismayed at the districts he drew his supplies from being attacked, sent off Chang yu liang, his brother, after Chung Wang, who with not more than eight or ten thousand men was investing Hangchow, the walls of which he eventually ruined, and with the help of some sympathisers gained the outer city on the 19th March 1860. The Manchu garrison, however, held out in the inner city till Chang yu liang and his troops arrived, 24th March 1860, when Chung Wang vacated the place, and, marching rapidly by Knante, managed to get back to the neighbourhood of Nankin long before Chang yu liang. Chung Wang now met the other chiefs, concerted plans for the attack of Ho Chun and Chang kwoh liang. She Wang (Li-shih-sien, now the head of the rebels at Amoy and the former chief of Liyang) captured Chuyung and Liyang, while Chung Wang and his brother, who had returned from Hoochow with him, defeated Chang kwoh liang, who had uncovered and laid his force open to attack. The Ying Wang was now at Kiangpu, and the rebel concentration was completely around the Imperialists, who were hemmed in and cut off from all supplies by the rebel forces. Chang yu liang, who had taken his best troops, had not returned, and there was no hope for the Imperialists, whose work extended for ten miles around the east side of Nankin, and were five miles from the city walls.

The attack on these was made on the morning

of the 3d May 1860, a snowy, cold day, and resulted in the complete defeat of the Imperialists, the total loss of their arms, camps, and stockades; 5000 were killed, and the remainder, much disorganised, escaped with their chiefs Chang kwoh liang and Ho Chun to Tayau. It is believed that want of unanimity between these two leaders led to their defeat, Ho Chun being a Manchu, and Chang kwoh liang an ex-rebel.

The Tien Wang's behaviour on this great victory was discouraging. No edict was issued or any notice taken of it. Wrapped up in his rhapsodies, he regarded nothing, contenting himself by telling the ministers to adhere to the precepts of "Heaven," and "that the surrounding aspect indicated signs of great peace."

Tien Wang, however, thought it unwise to keep Chung Wang in Nankin, so he ordered him to pursue Chang kwoh liang and Ho Chun, and to take Souchow, the capital of Kiangsu.

Before proceeding to describe the various operations undertaken by both sides after the defeat of the Imperial besieging army at Nankin, and the raising of that siege by Ying and Chung Wang, it is necessary to state the position of the opposing parties.

Tseng kwoh fan's[1] brother, Tseng kwoh tsuen, with a large force was investing Nganking, his covering force being at the cities of Soosung Taiho,

[1] Tseng kwoh fan himself was at Knantechow.

Tsienchan, and in front of Tungching, which was held by the rebels belonging to Ying Wang's force.

Nankin was clear of any Imperialist forces both on the north and south.

Liyang and Chuyung were also held by them; Chang kwoh liang had retreated to Tayau and Ho Chun to Chanchufu with their broken forces.[1]

Chang yu liang was with his army (which had gone to Hangchow on a fruitless chase after Chung Wang) on his way to Chanchufu, where the Governor-General of Kiangsoo, Ho Kweitsn, had his residence. Chung Wang advanced against Tayau in May, leaving Ying Wang to relieve Nganking. He attacked Tayau and defeated Chang kwoh liang on the 19th May 1860 with great loss; Chang kwoh liang being himself drowned and more than 10,000 of his men cut up. Chang kwoh liang was a brave leader. He had formerly been a Triad chief, then a Taeping leader, but had surrendered to Imperialists and been placed in office. Chung Wang then advanced against Chanchufu, where Chang yu liang and his forces, who had hurried up from Hangchow, met him. Chung Wang defeated him and took his camps on the 21st May 1860, and the city surrendered. Chang yu liang fell back to Wusieh, and being joined by more of his troops coming from Yesting, had placed himself there; he was, however, again defeated by

[1] Pauou Chiaou was at Hokew in Kiangsi, south of the Poyang lake, preventing any advance on the capital of Kiangsi by the E Wang's men, who were at Yenchow.

Chung Wang after twenty-four hours' fighting, so evenly balanced that it nearly resulted in a victory to the Imperialists.

Wusieh fell on the 23d May, and the unfortunate Ho Chun committed suicide on the 24th May at Suzuqwan, a place on the Grand Canal, ten miles from Souchow.

Chang yu liang fell back to Souchow the capital, and left the route clear to the rebels. Souchow itself is thirteen miles in circumference, and had suburbs of vast size on the west side. It was a place of immense wealth and population. Ho Kweitsn ordered for the purpose of defence the suburbs to be fired on hearing of the fall of Chanchufu, but, as may be imagined, this act occasioned great dismay and confusion among the people, and combined with the outrages of the runaway soldiers of Chang kwoh liang and caused such a state of confusion and anarchy, that when Chung Wang advanced on the 24th May 1860, he found no opposition. There is no doubt that the lowest class of inhabitants, numerous in such a large city, joined the rebels and increased the confusion.

Chang yu liang fell back to Hangchow with such of his troops as he could get together.

At this date it must be remembered that the allies were collecting their forces at Shanghai, preparatory to a march to Pekin to avenge the repulse we had suffered at Takoo in June 1859, and it is a strange feature in the course of events that at the

very moment the allies were about to start, the Governor-General, Ho Kweitsn, who had come from Chanchufu to Shanghai, applied to the British and French authorities for assistance to save Souchow. The French general consented to send 1500 men if the English general would send 500, but Mr. Bruce considered the matter too hazardous, as should the 2000 troops be obliged to retire a bad effect would be produced, and if they were reinforced the expedition to the north might be crippled. The allies declared their intentions of preserving Shanghai from the rebels in a proclamation, dated 26th May 1860, addressed to them.

To return to Chung Wang. It appears that with the fall of Souchow fell Singpoo, Quinsan, Taitsan, Kahding, and Kongyin, without a blow. Chung Wang pushed on to Wokny and captured Kashingfu, but in the meantime Chang yu liang, having gathered together his forces, advanced against Kashingfu and invested the south and west gates, breaking the walls and attempting an assault, but he was driven back with loss.

The unfortunate Governor-General Ho Kweitsn now addressed a memorial to the throne, commanding the Pekin Government to accede to the demands of the allies, and to employ them against the rebels, for which memorial and the disasters at Nánkin (for which as Governor-General of the two Kiangs he was responsible) he was degraded and ordered up to Pekin, where he was afterwards

beheaded. Tseng kwoh fan was nominated to his place, and took up his position at Knantechow.

It appears that there were some rebels moving in Che-kiang towards Hangchow about this time; they had captured Kiu-chou and threatened Yen-chow, a city near Hangchow. They were supposed to be the adherents of the E Wang or Shih ta kai, who had left Nankin in disgust in 1856 after the death of the Tung and Pei Wangs.

The attack of Chang yu liang on Kashingfu having failed, Chung Wang determined to move on Shanghai, the more especially as he had received news of Singpoo being attacked by Sieh, Futai of Kiangsoo, and some foreigners.

It appears that at Shanghai several rich inhabitants, among whom Takee was the principal, had arranged with the Taoutai Woo to afford funds and enlist foreigners to fight against the rebels; they had therefore engaged Ward[1] and Burgevine, two Americans, to enlist some Europeans and Manilla men, and had promised them a large sum if they

[1] "Ward was born about 1828, at Salem, in Massachusetts, and was a man of courage and ability. Probably from poverty he was unable, when a youth, to gratify his desire of studying at West Point; but his mind seems always to have been occupied with military matters, as affording his proper and destined sphere in life. Like not a few of his countrymen, he combined the life of an adventurer with that of a sailor, and had seen a good deal of the world before he came to China. In Central America he had been engaged in filibustering under that celebrated chief of filibusters, General William Walker; at Tuhwantepie he had been unsuccessfully engaged in trying to found a colony for the United States; and at one time in Mexico he had been on the point of taking military service under General Alvarez. Ward seems to have turned up in Shanghai some time in 1859."—*Wilson*, p. 63.

would retake Sungkiong, a city eighteen miles from Shanghai, in the river Wompoa, from the rebels. Accordingly these men with some 100 others, mostly seafaring men, attempted the attack in July 1860, but were repulsed with loss. Ward, however, persevered and got together a company of Manilla men, and lying hid during the day managed to seize a gate just at sunset; this they held, repulsing all the rebel attacks till the next day, when, the Imperialists coming up, they were enabled to drive the rebels out on 25th July 1860. Ward then received the ransom of the city, and Takee and the other patriotic merchants were promoted in rank. The success of this affair drew more men to Ward, 100 dollars or £20 per mensem being paid them, who being promised a further reward if he took Singpoo, attempted the same with some 280 Manilla men, and two six-pounder guns.[1] Ward had with him at the attack some 10,000 Imperialist troops under a Chinese general Li-ai-duy, and some 200 gunboats.

In Singpoo, however, with some Europeans, was Savage, an Englishman who had been a pilot, and who was not fighting on the rebel side.

Ward with his men attacked the city at night, 2d April 1860, but was driven back with very great loss after they had got on the walls, Ward being severely wounded in the jaw. Ward returned to Shanghai to get more men and some guns, and returned with some 100 fresh men and two eighteen-

[1] *Wilson*, p. 64.

pound guns; the fresh arrivals were mostly Greeks and Italians. He resumed his attack on the city in August 1860, but contented himself with firing into it for seven days.

In the meantime Chung Wang, who had repulsed Chang yu liang's attack on Kashingfu, came down to the rescue of Singpoo. He arrived while Ward was firing into the city, surprised and outflanked him, and took his guns, boats, and a good many muskets, and drove him back to Sungkiong. He followed up his victory by taking all Li-ai-duy's stockades at Quang-fu-ling, and eventually attempted to storm Sungkiong; but he was repulsed, and Savage was wounded, from the effects of which he afterwards died at Nankin.

On the 16th August 1860 Chung Wang advanced on Shanghai, leaving Sungkiong blockaded in his rear. He had with him one of the Tien Wang's brothers, Hung-jen-fa or Kan Wang, the Shield King, who had been baptized and made a Catechist of the London Missionary Society at Hongkong, and was supposed to have some knowledge of foreigners, and to be a good exponent of the Taeping's religious views, in which supposition the Tien Wang was right, for several missionaries were inclined to be favourable to the rebel cause through his presence. Chung Wang sent in a proclamation on the 18th August 1860 to the Consuls, explaining the accidental killing of a French Jesuit priest at Sechim near Sungkiong on the pre-

vious day, and telling them that he was about to attack Shanghai, but that they would not be molested if they remained in their houses.

No answer was sent to this communication, but they had been previously warned by the Rev. Mr. Edkins, who went up to them, that the allies would defend the town against them.

On the 18th August Chung Wang advanced, burning everything before him on a very large scale. He passed through the Jesuit establishment at Sicca-wai, where several converts and another French priest were killed, and attacked the Imperialists, who were entrenched about a mile from the west gate of Shanghai, capturing their camp and driving them into the city, which they tried to enter with them. The city walls were, however, manned by the British troops, who were in garrison at Shanghai, and who drove them back with loss. They kept up a skirmishing fire on the walls and attempted to come on by making use of the Imperial flags they had captured on the stockades. Several Europeans were with them, one of whom was killed.

Chung Wang took up his quarters at Sicca-wai, and on the 19th August 1860 resumed his attack, being evidently in hopes of a rising in his favour among the Cantonese (who were very numerous in the city), and who were only deterred by the allies from doing so. They were again repulsed with loss, though in doing so the French set fire to the southern suburbs, which burnt for five days, and

destroyed this portion, which was by far the richest part of Shanghai, causing great distress among the people. On the 20th August Chung Wang renewed his attack, but directed his efforts more against the British settlement; he was easily repulsed, and gave up the attempt, falling back with his troops on Sicca-wai.

On the 21st August 1860, the day on which the Takoo Forts were taken by the allies, he sent in to the Consuls an address in which he accused the French of having invited him to come to Shanghai, and of breaking faith with him: he implied that he could have taken the city, as "What city could his men not storm?"

Chung Wang's own account of this attack is, that having advanced towards Shanghai at the solicitations of certain barbarians, he took certain stockades, and was proceeding onwards when there arose such a storm of rain that the ground became so slippery that neither man nor horse could obtain a footing, and that therefore he returned to Sicca-wai, where he received news that Kashingfu was again in danger from Chang yu liang.[1]

The rebels retreated on the 22d August, and

[1] "When everything had been prepared for a march into the city, and arrangements made for my reception, the atmosphere became darkened, the wind rose, and thunder reverberated in the heavens. The ground was rendered so slippery from the immense quantity of rain, that neither man nor horse could obtain a firm footing, and so the march into Shanghai was unaccomplished, and the foreign devils who came out to meet me had the satisfaction of returning without me."—Chung Wang's *Autobiography*.

left the vicinity of Shanghai (having inflicted an immense amount of injury on the peasantry) and passing Sungkiong, captured Ping-hoo and Kashing-hien, which caused Chang yu liang to raise the siege on Kashingfu, which he was again attacking. Chung Wang, by the capture of She-men, managed to get between Chang yu liang and his Imperialists, who were stockaded near Kashingfu, and to cut these latter off from Hangchow, compelling them to surrender, where the principal part joined his ranks, and Chang yu liang was obliged to retreat to Hangchow.

This occurred in September 1860, when, having seen Kashingfu safe, Chung Wang went back to Souchow, where the distress of the people was very great. Chung Wang was very generous to them and endeavoured in every way to relieve their distress, for which the people erected an ornamental arch to him (which was the cause of considerable trouble to them when afterwards the city was recovered by the Imperialists, and by whom it was pulled down).[1]

Tseng kwoh fan was now pressing the siege of Nangking, and the Tien Wang, being apprehensive of its safety, sent to the Chung Wang to return to Nankin, and to oppose the advance of the Imperialists. Chung Wang left Souchow in charge of Chen-kun-shee (afterwards the Hoo Wang or Protecting King, better known as Cockeye, from his

[1] *Wilson*, p. 67.

having lost an eye from the explosion of a percussion cap). This man was in 1864 captured by the Imperialists in Chanchufu, and executed.

On the arrival of Chung Wang at Nankin he assembled the various chiefs, and recommended them to procure provisions while the city was still open; he repeated the same to Tien Wang, who inquired "if he was afraid of death?" remarking that "I, the truly appointed Lord, can without the aid of troops command great peace to spread over the whole region," which answer annoyed the Chung Wang considerably. He determined on moving out and collecting a force to cause the raising of the siege of Nganking. He consequently gave orders for the collection of rice for the garrison for 400 days, by which time he hoped to be back, but his order was nullified by Tien Wang, who imposed such a tax on that article that no one would bring it into the city, thus causing the city to be but sparingly provisioned.

The whole of the chiefs being assembled at Nankin in October 1860, the following programme was drawn up for the coming year. It was arranged that the object of the year should be the capture of Hankow and the raising of the siege of Nganking. For this four armies were to move: the first under Ying Wang or the Four-Eyed Dog to move from Tungching to Hangchow along the north bank of the Yangtze and the rear of the covering force of Imperialists engaged at Nganking, and then on to

the east of Hankow. The second, under the Fu Wang, to cross from the north bank of the Yangtze to the south bank, and thence to attack Hokeon at the entrance of Poyang lake and Kinkiang, and then to ascend the Yangtze river to Hankow. The third, under She Wang (the same who commanded at Liyang, in 1864, and who is now at Amoy), to march from Whuycheon, where his forces were, to Yaotchon on the Poyang lake, thence by Nankang, the capital of Kiangsi, and Hing-Kone to Woochang, the city *vis à vis* to Hankow on the southern bank.

The fourth, under Chung Wang himself, to march to Whuycheon, thence by Hokew-Kien-tihang south of the Poyang lake to Chinitchow and Nhing, and thence to Yotcheon on the Toong-ting lake, and from thence to descend the Yangtze to Hanyan *vis à vis* to Hankow, from which it is separated by the river Kan.

These forces were to move so as to be at or near Hankow on or about March or April.

Arrangements were made at the same time for the rebels at Souchow to move down on the cities of Chapu and Hanyuen, while the Nieufei (who fought on the side of the Taepings when it suited them, without subscribing to their tenets) were to make a raid from Tong Yang against Yongchow Kwachon and Chinkiang.

These arrangements were made by the end of October 1860 (about the same time as the Treaty

of Peace was signed with the allies at Pekin), after the surrender of that place on the 6th October 1860.

The Imperialists were thus placed, Tseng kwoh tsuen besieging Nganking; Pauou Chiaou and his forces at Kintchow near Hangchow; Tseng kwoh fan, the Governor-General at Ki-mera defending any advance on Kiangsi, and Chang yu liang at Hangchow. Chung Wang left Nankin in October and passed down through Taeping Woohoo to Whuycheon. Pauou Chiaou obliged him to change his route to this place by defeating him at Yuhsien; having arrived at Whuycheon he marched on thence without delay to Tchangchan in Che-kiang, where he arrived in December 1860.

The rebels since August had been pretty quiet in the neighbourhood of Shanghai; they made one or two raids against Woosung in October, from Singpoo and Kahding, and ravaged the country, filling Shanghai with fugitives and inflicting great misery on the people.

The war being ended in the north with the Imperialists, our naval Commander-in-Chief was able to turn his attention to the Taeping question and its influence on trade, and in fact our possession of Shanghai; it was also necessary to visit the ports in the Yangtze river which had been opened (by the late Treaty) to trade.

Admiral Sir James Hope accordingly started up the Yangtze in February 1861, and passing by Chin-

kiang, which was in a most ruinous state, anchored at Nankin, and entered into correspondence with the Tien Wang on the opening of the trade in the Yangtze river, on the necessity there was for him to give orders that Shanghai was not to be interfered with, and to request him to give orders that no rebels were to come within one hundred li of it (thirty miles), this distance being named as it was supposed sufficient to prevent the rebels making any sudden attack on it. The Tien Wang agreed to leave Shanghai unmolested for a year, and issued some port regulations respecting the opening of the ports.

The officers who went into Nankin found it very sparsely occupied, and not a sign of any trade going on was to be seen.

Admiral Sir J. Hope proceeded up to Nganking, which was closely besieged; Kinkiang, which was in a most ruinous state; and Hankow—establishing a consulate at the two last ports. The rebels then overspread the river from Nankin to Woohoo, including in that distance the East and West Pillars and Nganking: Taeping existed but in name; it was a complete ruin. The accounts of the various officers and gentlemen who went up on the expedition agree in describing the utter desolation which reigned in the rebel cities and districts, and the state of misery the people were in under them; while, on the other hand, in cities which had been recovered from them trade and houses were springing up,

and the people were crowding back to their ruined homes.

To return to Shanghai. It will be remembered that Ward and Burgevine had been defeated by Chung Wang at Singpoo in 1860, and forced to return to Sungkiong, eighteen miles from Shanghai. Ward had begun to collect men again for a third attempt on Singpoo—March and April 1861. He had collected some sixty or eighty, and had sent them up from Sungkiong to Burgevine, who was entrenched with some Imperialists near Singpoo. The Consuls and Admirals, however, saw that these proceedings were likely to embroil the allies with the rebels, and to offer great encouragement to men to desert from the navy and merchant vessels and go up country. They therefore arrested Ward in Sungkiong, 19th May 1861, with thirteen other Europeans, and took him to Shanghai, where he was arraigned as an American citizen; but he claimed Chinese nationality, and was released, being warned against taking any further steps to enlist men. He is said to have had twenty-nine deserters from the Royal Navy in his ranks before he was arrested; at which time he had sent up some eighty men to Burgevine at Singpoo, but whom he directed to disband. Burgevine determined to make an attempt to take the city before the men left, and consequently attacked, but was defeated, losing twenty-three men killed and wounded: the survivors were disbanded. About this time Tien Wang gave up at demand of the British

admiral some twenty-six foreigners, of whom five were deserters from the Royal Navy. These men had been given no pay; they had plenty of spirits, and were allowed to plunder where they could. They were in a miserable condition, and the rebels seemed glad to be rid of them.

Ward remained quiet at Shanghai till September 1861, when he and Burgevine began drilling Chinese; and being well supported by the Takee and other native merchants who originally befriended him, he commenced the force known by the names of "Chun chën chün" or "Ever Victorious Army," "Ward Force," "Sungkiong Force," "Quinsan Force," and "Disciplined Chinese."[1]

It is now necessary to turn to the movements of the rebels in the beginning of 1861, when their various armies were put in movement for the capture of Hankow—the bold conception of Chung Wang, who undertook a march to attain this of no less than 500 miles.

In January 1861 Chung Wang left Tchangchan, and marched without opposition through Yuchan, Kowangsin, Hokew, to Kientchang, which he found

[1] "It is in a celestial and somewhat transcendental, not in an accidental and literal meaning, that this phrase the 'Ever Victorious Army' must be understood. 'Chun chën chün,' however—the high-sounding title which this army received at a very early period of its existence, and by which it will be known in Chinese history at least—turned out to be by no means extravagantly hyperbolic, seeing what was the work that it accomplished in the suppression of a most formidable movement, which afflicted the Flowery Land for more than ten years, at one time had threatened to subvert not only the ruling dynasty but also the institutions of the Empire, and had caused a prodigious amount of devastat on and slaughter."—*Wilson.*

held by the Imperialists. He besieged it for twenty days, but failed to take it, in March 1861, although he captured a body of Imperialists who were coming to relieve it. He then pushed on to Yong-gui and Tchang-tehm, on the banks of the river Kan, which runs into the Poyang lake. This river, being full from the melting of the snow, delayed him some time. He eventually crossed, and driving off the militia, entered Liu-kiang, where, after a halt of a few days, he marched on to Chone-tchon, and placed his troops in Nhing and Ouning. It was now April, and as far as his column was concerned it had done its part, although the failure to take Kientchang rendered his return precarious in the event of anything happening to the other columns.

The Ying Wang, having a shorter distance to go to attain his position at Hankow, did not leave Tung-ching till 6th March 1861. He had with him Hoo Wang and some troops from Nankin (the same Wang who was afterwards executed at Souchow in 1863), and capturing Hochan on the 10th March, Yintchang 14th March, attacked a camp of Amoor Tartars on the 15th March with great success, and took all their horses. He then pushed on to Hangchow, a city on the Yangtze, fifty miles from Hankow, took it by surprise, having sent some of his men dressed as Imperialists into the city, who opened the gates to him on the 18th March 1861. He had a force of from 50,000 to 80,000 men with him, had marched 200 miles in eleven days, and had

quite outflanked the Imperialists at Soosong, Taiho, and Tsien-chang, who were placed there to oppose him. He, however, was not well off for provisions, and time pressed.

To turn to the other columns, that under the She Wang left Whuycheon in February 1861, and marched to King-te-chin, where he defeated the Imperialists. Thence he moved by Soping towards Yaotchou, but was met by the Imperialists at Soping, and defeated with the loss of 10,000 men, and obliged to return to Tchangchan in April 1861.

The Fu Wang met with no greater luck, for after crossing the Yangtze at the Pillars, and passing through Tunghow and Kiente with part of his force on his march to Hokeon, he was met by one of Tseng kwoh fan's generals and completely defeated and obliged to return to the Pillars, while the other force, advancing from Taeping by Kimen, were defeated by the Governor-General himself.

The news of these failures was brought to the Chung Wang in Chonitchow in May. He had his difficulties, for Pauou Chiaou had followed him up and was close to Chonitchow with a large force, while the Governor of Hankow had despatched another to prevent his advance to Yotcheon. The people also were giving trouble by pillaging his convoys, and he felt that his new levies could not oppose Pauou's troops, and so determined to return before it was too late. He therefore recalled his troops from all

the cities, and vacating Chonitchow, marched on Liu-kiang on the river Kan, which he crossed after a narrow escape from capture by Pauou Chiaou, who followed him up, and getting two or three days' start, Pauou marched rapidly on through Hokew (where he received a large reinforcement of rebels who had come up from Kwangsi) to Kowangsin, where he arrived September 1861, after a march of upwards of 800 miles.

The Ying Wang, having waited at Hangchow for the other columns, was at last obliged to vacate it for want of provisions, and to fall back on Tungching. This he did in June 1861, and thus ended this grand scheme for the attack of Hankow and the relief of Nganking, which was now in the greatest distress for want of food.

Pauou Chiaou followed up with his forces the Chang Wang as far as Hokew, and then turned northwards about September 1861. He was made tetuh and presented with the yellow jacket for his services, which saved Hankow. He captured in his march northwards the cities of Nankin, Tseng-yang, and accepted the surrender of Tseng kwoh fu about the end of December 1861.

Ying Wang persevered in his attempt to relieve Nganking, which, besieged for nearly three years, was in great distress. But his troops at Tungching were also in want of provisions and powder, while Tseng kwoh tsuen's forces were well supplied and very strongly entrenched around the city, and a large

fleet of gunboats blockaded it by water. About this time Ching, a rebel chief of some eminence, high in favour with the Ying Wang, went over to the Imperialists from Nganking, giving up a most important post (he afterwards served in Kiangsoo at the capture of Souchow). The Imperialists persevered in the siege, making several attempts to storm the city, in which they were invariably repulsed; the Ying Wang, or Four-Eyed Dog, establishing his quarters at Honangmei, held on on the outside and made fruitless efforts to raise the siege.

In November 1861 the city fell after an heroic defence of three years. The victors found the people dead in the streets by hundreds; they had been reduced to the very last extremity, human flesh being sold at forty cash the catty or one penny per pound. (Strange to say, that almost at this time Hangchow, an Imperial city besieged by the rebels, as will be related, was in as bad a plight.) The Ying Wang fell back to Luhgan and Souchow, after a vain endeavour to lead his men to Te-ngau and Seang-yang, where he might augment his force by conscription.

To mention the other expeditions of the Nienfei[1]

[1] "The number of these Nienfei must not be judged by the extent of country over which they roam. Mr. Gibson, lately H.M. Acting Consul at Tientsin, who came into rather unpleasant contact with them in 1863, estimated their numbers as under 10,000, exclusive of women and children. They move about in large parties, covering a tract as large as two or three English parishes. The women and the carts usually follow the public roads, while the men scatter about over the country, but retreat to their waggons when danger appears. They are all pretty well mounted on good ponies, and can move when

towards Yongchow and the Taeping from Souchow towards Chapu, it will be sufficient to say that the former failed, while the latter, starting from Kashingfu, surprised Chapu at night and captured it on the 15th April 1861, killing the Tartar garrison. On the news reaching Shanghai, Captain Dew of the *Encounter* was sent to warn them that they were not to attack Ningpo, which they answered by a communication in which they say "that they had no intention of doing so, seeing the allies were determined to defend it, and ending with a request to be supplied with arms and powder." They afterwards pushed on and captured Haiyuen in April, but the place was retaken by the Imperialists in the same month, and again taken by the rebels on 17th April 1861.

It is now necessary to return to Chung Wang,

necessary at the rate of sixty miles a day. Captain Coney, of H.M. 67th Regiment, who went out against them from Tientsin with some disciplined Chinese in 1863, never saw Nienfei till the Nienfei concentrated and attacked him; and when they found that they were getting the worst of it, they were out of range again in a few minutes. Extremely ill armed, with spears, rusty swords, gingals, and a few cannon, they are very bad shots. They take good care, however, to send patrols out before them, and are chary of going in directions where they are likely to meet with serious resistance. Almost anything in the way of plunder they can carry or consume is acceptable to them. They loot young women, boys, gold, silver, silk, cotton, rice, wheat, and clothes of all kinds, but seldom wantonly destroy life. The necessity which knows no law before that of self-preservation has created these robber bands; but of course they have attracted to them many idle and disreputable fellows, inclined for all kinds of mischief, and such bands necessarily grow by what they feed on. The well-to-do people whose houses they plunder become themselves Nienfei in order to avoid starvation; and so a band increases rapidly, until it attains such dimensions that Imperialist troops are directed against it."—*Wilson*, p. 344.

who was at Konaughie in September, and who, despairing of relieving Nganking, determined on the invasion of Che-kiang. He advanced and captured Yintchow, Tangki, and Fui-hoa, and then dividing his forces into two, one of which was under himself and the other under the She Wang (now at Amoy).

The She Wang advanced, and defeating Chang yu liang at Porekiang, captured Tchutchon, Onent-chow, and Taitchow, the same being given up to them on their advance, and the Tai Wang (Hwang) and Shon Wang (Fang) advanced on Ningpo.

The Chung Wang's force advanced and captured Oukang and Tesin, north of Hangchow, and besieged Wuchow, south of Taiho lake, while another detachment proceeded to Shoushing and captured it (1st November 1861), and also Shonshan, near it.

Another force detached from Chung Wang proceeded north of Hangchow and fell on the Imperialists at Kanpou (the city mentioned by Marco Polo as the seat of great trade, now nearly a ruin) and Haiyuen, which cities, now placed with Chapu in their rear occupied by rebels, surrendered.

On the 24th August 1861 the Emperor Hienfung died at Je-hol, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and tenth of his reign. He was succeeded by his son, a boy of seven years old, named by the Regency "Chi Seang," or "Good Fortune." This Regency was composed of men inimical to foreigners, and who were implicated in the seizure of Parkes and Loch,

De Norman, and others at Chang Kia Wang in October 1860.[1] They had obtained the Regency from the Emperor, and excluded the Prince Kung, his brother, from it. The Emperor's death was announced in a duree, stating that "his malady attacked him with increasing violence, bringing him to the last extremity, and on the seventeenth day of the moon he sped upwards upon the dragon to be a guest on high. We tore the earth and cried to heaven, yet reached we not to him with our hands or voices."

The Emperor Hienfung was a weak, indolent man, very much addicted to favourites, who led him astray.

The Regency, consisting of the Princes of I. and Ching, and Sushim brought the Emperor's body and the young Empress to Pekin in November 1861; but *en route* Prince Kung, who had plotted with the Empress's mother and the Dowager-Empress (for the present Emperor was the son of the second wife), seized them and beheaded them, and changing the young Empress's name to Tungchi, or "Union in the cause of law and order," created a Regency of which she and the two Empresses were the principal members. The culprits were arrested on the 3d November, tried on the 4th, condemned on the 5th, and executed on the 6th November.

[1] The seizure of these his comrades took place almost immediately after Gordon's arrival in China, whither he had been ordered to serve with the allied forces. For an account of the part he took before Pekin and in the sacking of the Summer Palace, which resulted from these events, see *The Story of Chinese Gordon.*

The French and English admirals now entered into communication with the Tai and Shur Wang,[1] who were at Yuyaou, with the intention of dissuading them from taking Ningpo, and of informing them that should they do so they would not be allowed in the foreign settlement, and that any outrage offered to the foreign community would be punished. The rebel chiefs announced their intention of taking the city, but promised to obey the wishes of the Admirals and Consuls with respect to the foreign settlement, etc. On the 9th December they advanced and escaladed the walls, the Imperialists retreating. The rebel leaders were informed that as a consular port, trade must be allowed to go on as when in the hands of the Imperialists.

Hangchow held out under Wang-yu-ling, the Futai of Che-kiang (who was very popular with the people), in spite of the frequent attacks of the rebels; provisions were very scarce, and the distress of the people great. They were driven to eat human flesh and dogs, but they would not yield. Chang Wang at last stormed the outer city, but the Tartar city held out under the Tartar generals, Yui-chow and Wang-yu-ling. It was at last carried by assault on the 29th December 1861. Wang-yu-ling hung himself in his garden. Yui-chow and the Manchu garrison blew themselves up. The people had been reduced to eating dogs and horses, then grass and leather, and finally human flesh was sold at so much

[1] Or Snake Chief.

a catty in the streets, or twopence per pound. Chung Wang did his best to save the garrison, but it was of no avail. He even got permission from the Tien Wang to spare the Manchus. The sufferings of the Imperialist garrison and people of Hangchow were, however, fully equalled by those of the Taeping garrison of Nganking.

The end of 1861 found the rebels in possession of a large number of cities in Che-kiang and Kiang-soo. Wuchow, at the south of the Taiho lake and the principal seat of the silk country, still held out under one of its inhabitants, Chasching-sieu, after the flight of the Imperialist authorities, but it was closely besieged.

Around Shanghai the Pootung district, including Kinsaiwai, Cholin, Yonguai, Naiwai, and Chuensha, still were in the hands of the Imperialists.

Admiral Sir James Hope went up to Nankin at the end of the year (in consequence of the rumours that were about of the Chang Wang's intention to attack Shanghai) to warn Tien Wang of the consequences. The answer was impertinent, and to the effect that he had only promised to respect Shanghai for a year, that the year was drawing to a close and with it his agreement, and that he could never consent that his divine troops should not attack those places simply out of consideration for our trade, the very idea of which caused him great surprise. In answer, the Tien Wang was informed that if he attacked Woosung or Shanghai it would be at his peril.

In order to explain the jealousy of the British and other foreign Governments with respect to any encroachment of the rebels on Shanghai, it may be as well to give some description of that port.

Shanghai in 1842, when visited by our forces under Sir Hugh Gough, was a place of considerable importance. It consisted of a walled city some four miles in circumference, with a large suburb at the south gate: its position, some eight miles up the river Wompoa, was the point of junction of several very large canals leading from Souchow and the silk districts.

It was one of the ports opened to foreign trade by the Treaty of Nankin.

The British, French, and American Governments had had allotted to them certain tracts of ground outside the north gate of the city, which had been soon occupied and built on by the merchants. The French had excluded all other nationalities from their portion, but the British and American had allowed any foreigners who wished to establish themselves in their districts.

Year after year these settlements increased in size and wealth, and matters went on smoothly till the 7th September 1853, when some 1500 of the members of the Triad Society rose in revolt and seized the city, which they held for eighteen months. These men were mostly from the south of China; they were besieged by the Imperialists,

while the foreign settlements remained neutral till the insurgents offended the French through their conduct to some of the missionaries, which led these latter to join the Imperialists against them and to assault the city. The French were repulsed in their first attack, but eventually prevailed, and restored the place to the Imperialists on the 17th February 1855. These Triads had opened communications with Nankin, but the Tien Wang did not think fit to acknowledge them.

On the reversion of Shanghai to the Imperial authorities matters went on smoothly till 1860, when the influx of fugitives into the settlement caused a large increase to the Chinese population, for the natives were not liable in the British settlement to be taxed by the Chinese authorities, who exercised no jurisdiction there.

This settlement was governed by a Municipal Council (elected by the land-renters), who instituted certain taxes and employed the same in the public works, such as making roads, drains, etc. It was but natural that they should require the Chinese inhabitants of their settlement to contribute to these expenses.

Applications were made to Mr. Bruce through the Consul in June 1862 to equalise this taxation of the Chinese residents, which, however, Mr. Bruce refused to sanction in his despatch of the 8th September 1862, alleging that the British Government had no intention of making Shanghai a free

port, with a mixed consular and a municipal Government under the joint protection of the Treaty powers, which the concession of the rights they claimed would be equivalent to, and that the Chinese authorities were to have as much jurisdiction over their own subjects residing in the settlement as if they were out of it.

Since this date Shanghai has been governed by a Municipal Council in conjunction with the Consuls, which has raised taxes and carried on works of the greatest importance to the settlement. But at the same time the mixture of the Consuls of the Treaty powers with the elected of the land-renters, *i.e.* the Municipal Council in the government of so important a place, has many disadvantages. The Council has no position with the Chinese authorities, who are influenced by the Consuls to disregard its decisions, and there now exists a state of things which will be the cause of much embarrassment if some arrangement of a more satisfactory character is not established.

It is not likely that the mercantile community of such wealth will submit to the dictation of the foreign Consuls, whose position under their Government alone gave them this right of interference, and who can feel no interest in the welfare of the place. It is high time that the regal pretensions of these potentates were reduced to the fulfilment of their legitimate duties, and that they learnt that they are not sent to act as governors of either the mercantile community or the native authorities.

Great Britain wishes to preserve the Empire intact, and does not wish the authority of the native officials in the Empire to be impaired by the contemptuous treatment they are apt to receive from the foreign Consuls. If wrongs are committed they should be redressed through Pekin, which action would tend to centralise and strengthen the Government at Pekin.

The institution of the Chinese customs, which were officered by foreigners, and the proceedings which led to the formation of the Lay and Osborne flotilla, must be alluded to before recounting the operations of the rebels and Imperialists.

These Customs establishments were formed at each of the four ports in 1858, and were in that year under the superintendence of Mr. Horatio Lay. Mr. Lay and his subordinates were completely Chinese officials, receiving their pay from the Government, and looked on entirely in that light, being in close communication with the higher officials. It happened when the rebels were pressing hard on the Imperialists that the Pekin Government thought they could employ them to purchase certain ships and guns for the employment against the rebels, being well aware of the efficiency of those articles from our war with them.

Prince Kung, the head of the Foreign Board, accordingly applied to Mr. Hart, who was at this time (October 1861) Acting Inspector-General of Customs (Mr. Lay having returned ill to England),

and commissioned him to obtain from the Chinese Superintendent of Customs at each port a certain sum of money for the purchase of vessels and guns. Mr. Hart accordingly wrote to Mr. Lay, who thereupon entered into the purchase of the vessels, and obtained an order in council for the enlistment of certain officers and men for the service. The ships were being constructed, and were nearly completed by the month of March 1863, Captain Sherard Osborne having accepted the command as Commodore.

Ward had now at Sungkiong some 500 Chinese drilled and armed with muskets. These men were paid by the merchants of Shanghai, of whom Takee was the most conspicuous.

The British forces at Shanghai in January 1862 consisted of the 22d Punjaub Native Infantry or Loodianah Regiment, some 500 strong, the wing of the 5th Bombay Native Infantry, and a battery of Royal Artillery under Captain Bradshaw, the whole under Major Stafford, 22d Punjaub Native Infantry.

About the beginning of January 1862 Chung Wang returned to Souchow, where the Hoo Wang or Protecting King (Chen-kun-shee) had been in command, who had, however, left for Chanchufu before his arrival. He had treated the people in a very cruel and harsh manner, and they were suffering great misery. Chung reduced the taxes and alleviated the distress of the people as much as he could, although they never got over the misrule of the Hoo Wang or Protecting King. Chung Wang

was at this time on very bad terms with the Tien Wang.

About the 11th January 1862 the Chung Wang put his forces in motion against Shanghai, moving one body from Chapu along the Pootung peninsula, as the country on the right bank of the Wompoa river is called, and the sea and Hangchow Bay, and capturing Kinsaiwai, Cholin, Yonguai, Naiwai, and Chuensha; another body advanced from Kahding and ravaged the country around Shanghai, close to the settlement. On the 14th January the rebels approached close up to the creek near the American settlement, and burning the villages as they advanced, drove thousands and thousands of fugitives, men, women, and children, into the settlement. The mercantile community had met, the volunteers were enrolled, and measures were taken to throw up some defensive works to cover the settlement, which was quite open.[1]

[1] In a private letter written to his mother at the date referred to, Gordon says: "We had a visit from the marauding Taepings the other day. They came close down in small parties to the settlement and burnt several houses, driving in thousands of inhabitants. We went against them and drove them away, but did not kill many. They beat us into fits in getting over the country, which is intersected in every way with ditches, swamps, etc. . . . You can scarcely conceive the crowds of peasants who come into Shanghai when the rebels are in the neighbourhood—upwards of 15,000, I should think, and of every size and age—many strapping fellows who could easily defend themselves come running in with old women and children. The people on the confines are suffering very greatly, and are in fact dying of starvation. It is most sad, this state of affairs, and our Government really ought to put the rebellion down. Words could not depict the horrors these people suffer from the rebels, or describe the utter desert they have made of this rich province."

The rebels before advancing had issued proclamations stating that the time of the Manchus had come, that "Shanghai was a little place, and we have nothing to fear from it. We must take Shanghai to complete our dominions." The British and French admirals issued a notification to warn them off.

The whole horizon from Shanghai was obscured by the smoke of their fires for days. Li-ai-duy's stockades near Tungkung at Quanfuling were captured, and the rebels approached, killing the people close to the walls of Sungkiong. There is no doubt that they were in very great force, but Chung Wang himself remained at Souchow with a select body of 10,000 rebels.

The volunteers were constantly under arms through false alarms, as there was as much fear from the border classes of Cantonese and Fuhkien boatmen rising in the city as from the rebels at night. Added to this state of alarm it must be remembered that it was now in the depth of a Shanghai winter, which happened to be most severe, and the poor fugitives were lying exposed all night. Words cannot portray the utter misery of these poor creatures, some of whom had been before in most flourishing circumstances. Now and then a false alarm would be given, and then a sight baffling description took place—for there are no people so given to panics as the Chinese—the screams of the women and the children passed description. In the morning as many as eight or

ten dead would have to be buried. In the midst of these terrible times the British and foreign merchants behaved nobly and gave great relief, while the Chinese merchants did not lag behind in acts of charity. The hardest heart would have been touched at the utter misery of these poor harmless people, for whatever may be said of their rulers, no one can deny but that the Chinese peasantry are the most obedient, quiet, and industrious people in the world.

Admiral Sir James Hope was most active in organising means of defence.

On the 21st January the rebels pushed their forces on to Kachiaou, a large village opposite Woosung on the right bank of the Wompoa river.

The people of the Pootung peninsula sent in petitions[1] to the Consuls begging protection, and the

[1] The following petition, sent to the British authorities, and drawn up by the gentry, elders, merchants, and people of the two provinces of Che-kiang and Kiangsoo, gives a fair idea of the alarm entertained at this period. Thus it runs: "Respectfully, O Consul! we address you. When, beforetime, the rebellion spread on the eastern bank of the river, and murder, arson, and every kind of violence was brought near Shanghai, Woosung, etc., you issued a proclamation in our behalf tranquillising us and promising protection. When again our trade was cut off, provisions became almost unobtainable, and in the morning we could not tell what the even might bring; then, when we united to beg you to devise measures with us to clear the country and save the people—though, pitying our misery exceedingly, you could not without orders from Pekin move your troops, you did eventually, conjointly with the military authorities, exterminate the rascally brood at Kachiaou, and, sending patrols out on the other side of the river, kept the rebels off. For this we are most grateful. But the Pootung rebels murder now more ferociously than ever, and come now and again down to the river bank declaring that when the western horde arrives their fixed determination is to attack Shanghai on all sides and take it; so that while the vessels from the north are afraid to come in,

merchants at a public meeting requested more troops to be sent for. The people of Pootung's petition was couched in the most imploring terms; there was deep snow on the ground, and they were dying in hundreds.

On the 20th January they approached Wusung with the intention of taking it. This village is situated at the point where the Wompoa river falls into the Yangtze, and by which all vessels proceeding to Shanghai, eight miles higher up, have to pass. They were driven back by the French.

The rebels, from their residence at Tsinpoo and Kahding, were now pretty well supplied with European arms, and therefore much more formidable, although—thanks to the sharp dealing of those who sold them to the rebels—they were not good for much for any length of time.

On the 4th February 1862 the Rev. Mr. Roberts left Nankin, after a residence of fifteen months,

those from Souchow, Hoochow, Keang-sing, etc., are prevented coming, our supply of fuel, rice, tea, oil, silk, cloths, drugs, is entirely cut off. The merchants and tradesmen sit idle, the fields become a desert, agriculture ceases, the silk-rearing stops, and unspeakable misery results. Considering, therefore, the benevolence and power of your noble country (the first among the nations), reflecting on your love for us Chinamen, though of another race, and bearing in mind that though the long-haired thieves were originally in arms against China, they are now against foreigners also, as it will be hard to cure the wounds caused by delay, as your brave soldiers are collected here in clouds sufficient to destroy the rebels and more, we humbly pour out our minds, and supplicate the Minister at Pekin to send forth his troops against them, sweep rebellion out of the land, and save the people from destruction. We pray of you, therefore, to forward our petition, and we beg of you to declare its urgency, and to write that the Great Ambassador may confer the boon we ask at once. Then will the people hold you in grateful remembrance."

unable to effect any good and hopeless of any reform.

Major-General Sir John Michel, commanding in China, arrived on the 10th February, bringing up two companies of the 99th Regiment.

On the same day, which was one of an intense frost, Ward, whose force now consisted of some thousand men, sallied out of Sungkiong and attacked the rebel position of Quanfuling, captured it, and the rebel boats being iced in, took them all, some 200, prisoners.

On the 21st February the snow melted, and the rebels recommenced pillaging. They hunted the people down to the bank of the river opposite Shanghai, which was lined with fugitives, who begged the passing steamers to save them and to cross them over to Shanghai; they even attacked the workmen at the foreign factory, not 1000 yards from Shanghai.

After Ward's victory at Quanfuling he was supported by the admiral, Sir James Hope, and allowed to purchase muskets, etc., from the arsenal at Hongkong. He had now about 1500 men, officered for the most part with seafaring men of all nations, and about four twelve-pounder mountain howitzers.

The rebels at Kachiaou made their raids right down to the mouth of the river Wompoa, and fired on some boats close to our vessels of war. This could not be borne with, and in consequence

Admirals Hope, R.N., and Prôtet of the French Imperial Navy, determined to drive them out of their entrenched position at Kachaiou.

Accordingly Admiral Hope, with 336 seamen and marines from S.S. *Imperieuse* and *Pearl*, with Captains Borlase, C.B., Willis, C.B., and Captain Holland, R.M.S., accompanied by Admiral Prôtet and 160 seamen, and General Ward and 600 men, started on the 21st February 1862 for Kachiaou.

III

THE rebels had entrenched the village or rather town in a very formidable manner, and kept up a very strong fire on the advancing troops; however, when the French guns opened on them they were not so ready in showing themselves, and after a while Ward's men, headed by Burgevine and supported by the marines under Captain Holland, stormed a bridge and entered the place. Burgevine was wounded but still went on, and some seven of Ward's men were killed and forty wounded; of the French, two seamen were wounded and one killed, and one English marine was wounded. The rebels fought well, and a considerable number were killed, while a large number of villagers in chains were released.

This defeat was quickly followed by another, for Admiral Hope having landed on the opposite bank of the Wompoa river to Minhong on the 27th February, was fired on by the rebels and forced to fall back on his ship. He accordingly sent for reinforcements, and determined to attack their stockaded position at Tseedong. On the 28th

February the reinforcements came, consisting of some 240 English seamen, 70 marines, 100 French sailors, 35 Royal Artillery, under Captain Bradshaw, R.A., with seven howitzers and 700 of Ward's force. A boat had been intercepted from the rebels in Tseedong to some other place asking for 1000 more men, as they expected an attack.

The place was very strong and of some extent. It had two seven feet deep ditches and was thickly planted with abatis and stakes, while the parapet was fifteen feet high and crowded with their cavaliers. Fire was opened, and shortly after a party of Ward's men went round to the rear, which being seen by the rebels, they commenced vacating the works. The marines under Captain Holland and blue jackets under Commanders Fawkes, Gibson, and Richardson, entered at the front, while Ward's men entered at the rear. The rebels, taken between two fires, made a fight for it and suffered heavily, losing some 700. The rebels numbered some 6000 men: 300 were taken prisoners; two deserters from the French army were killed among the rebels. Of Ward's force, Burgevine was again wounded very severely through the stomach, and ten of his men were killed and forty wounded.

The Chinese fought most bravely, and in fact the difficulty was in keeping them back.

Ward's force was inspected by General Sir John Michel, who reported very favourably of them to Mr. Bruce, our Minister at Pekin, and recommended

that Ward should be supported and his force increased, and, Sir James Hope also writing in the same strain, Mr. Bruce impressed the same on the Pekin Government, who acknowledged the acts of the Ever Victorious Army, or Chun chën chün as it was now called, in a very handsome decree, 16th March 1862.

General Sir John Michel, who had resigned the command in China, and who was leaving for England by the next mail, preferred leaving to Brigadier-General C. W. Staveley, C.B., who was commanding at Tientsin, and who was to succeed him, the option of taking the field against the rebels or not, as might seem fit when he came down from Tientsin, therefore did not accompany these expeditions.

On the 21st March 1862 General Staveley, C.B., visited Pekin, and was introduced to Prince Kung, who requested him when he went to Shanghai to afford what assistance he could to the Governor of the province to drill and organise his men.

Arrangements were made about this time between Mr. L. Richardson (an English merchant, afterwards assassinated in Japan) and the Chinese authorities for the conveyance from Nankin to Shanghai of 9000 Imperialist soldiers at £7 a head, for those in the province were but militia and had never been engaged for the greater part. The new-comers were inured to the soldier life and were Hoonan men.

On the 24th March the rebels returned to Kachiaou and ravaged the country all round it. Another body of them attacked Muirhead's factory, and wounded a European workman, who afterwards died. Admiral Sir James Hope having written to Mr. Bruce recommending that the rebels should be cleared out of the district within thirty miles of Shanghai, which Mr. Bruce approved of, the Hoonan troops above mentioned were brought down in order to garrison the captured cities when taken.

During this time the Ningpo rebels had not been idle: in the month of April they landed in Chusan and attacked the city, but were defeated with loss and obliged to recross to the mainland.

General Staveley arrived at Shanghai with part of the 31st Regiment and part of the 67th Regiment and some Royal Engineers about the end of March from Tientsin, and determined on driving the rebels out of Wong-ka-dza, a position they held some twelve miles west of Shanghai.

On the 4th April 1862 General Staveley, Sir James Hope, and Admiral Prôtet left Shanghai and marched to Wong-ka-dza where the rebels were strongly entrenched. After opening fire on them the rebels vacated their works and fell back on another series of stockades four or five miles farther inland. General Staveley considered it too late to go on that day, but Ward, having arrived late with

some 500 of his men, accompanied by Admiral Hope, proceeded on to the rebel position, which was very strong; the Chinese went up to it boldly enough, but were met with a very severe fire, and although they repeated their efforts they could not take the work. Admiral Hope received a ball in the leg, and seven of Ward's officers were wounded and seventy of his men killed and wounded. This check was not to be passed over. Accordingly on the next day, the 5th April, Captain Borlase, R.N., with 400 seamen and marines and three howitzers, and Admiral Prôtet with 400 French seamen and marines, with Ward and 1000 of his men, left Chepaon for the rebel position. The guns opened fire on the stockades, and Ward's men worked round to the rear, seeing which the rebels retreated, and were pursued for some distance.

On the 18th April 1862 General Staveley with the 22d Punjaub Native Infantry, 5th Bombay Native Infantry, some 780 bayonets, a company of the 99th Regiment (Captain Burton), and battery of Royal Artillery under Captain Bradshaw, R.A., 40 French seamen and marines under Admiral Prôtet, 400 seamen and marines under Captain Borlase, R.N., and 400 Chinese of Ward's force and some field-pieces, advanced against Isipoo, a rebel stronghold situated about twelve miles above Shanghai and on the right bank of the Wompoa river.

The guns were placed in position and in half an hour the rebels vacated their entrenchments, which

were very strong, having three ditches around them (one of them twenty feet wide) and a stout earthen parapet; about 300 rebels were killed.

On the 23d April Mr. Bruce addressed a despatch to Admiral Hope and General Staveley, approving of their clearing the country around Shanghài of rebels for a distance of thirty miles,[1] arrangements being made with the Imperial authorities to hold the places when taken.

On the 22d April the two admirals and the general met and decided on the capture of Kahding, Singpoo, Najaor, and Cholin.[2]

[1] "In May 1862, the Taeping rebels becoming troublesome in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, it was considered necessary to undertake some operations against them. 700 of the 31st Regiment and 200 of the 67th Regiment were consequently ordered up to that port, and Gordon having despatched them from the Takoo Forts, himself followed in a few days. He was at once appointed to the command of the district, and was given the charge of the Engineers' part in an expedition against the rebels. He led his men to Singpoo, stormed and entered it, taking a number of rebels prisoners; and thence he moved to other parts in the possession of the Taepings, and drove them from their strongholds. The towns were stored with rice stolen from the neighbouring peasants, and their misery was intense. For some months no farther steps were taken to keep off the rebels, and Gordon returned to Shanghai to resume his official duties there. In October, however, he started for Kahding, on a more difficult enterprise than his previous ones, for in order to reach it broken bridges had to be repaired. 5000 rebels had taken refuge in the town, and on the first night of attack they made some resistance; but the walls being escaladed by the English troops the Taepings made their escape to Taitsan, an important stronghold on the road to Souchow. This was the last of the attacks made on these marauders, with the view to clearing a radius of thirty miles round Shanghai for the protection of its citizens. The step was indeed necessary, for when least expected these robbers made raids on the outlying suburbs, forcing the peasants to take refuge in the city. Gordon constantly refers to the depredations of these ruthless land-pirates."—*Story of Chinese Gordon.*

[2] That is, Vice-Admiral Sir James Hope, Admiral Prôtet, and General Staveley. Their decision was—

On the 26th April the following force moved out to Taitsan, a large unwalled town some ten miles from Shanghai, *en route* to Kahding, which was nine miles farther on, and outside of which the rebels had a very strong line of stockades, viz. a wing of H.M. 31st Regiment, a wing of H.M. 67th Regiment, a company of the 99th Regiment, the 5th Bombay Native Infantry, and Bradshaw's battery of artillery, the whole under the command of General Staveley. The naval force consisted of some 300 sailors and marines, the French force consisted of 800 French sailors and Infanterie de la Marine under Admiral Prôtet, while General Ward had 1000 of his men with the force.

1st. That it is necessary for the defence of Shanghai to occupy Kahding, Singpoo, Sungkiong, Najaor, and Cholin, by which means a district of country will be secured sufficient in extent to afford the supplies requisite for the support of its numerous population, and to keep the rebels at a distance, which will preclude the continuance of that state of alarm which has prevailed during the last few months, and which has been so detrimental to its commerce.

2d. Colonel Ward at present occupies Sungkiong, and he undertakes, as soon as Sing-poo is taken, to establish his headquarters there, and to hold it. The Chinese authorities have undertaken, and will be required, to furnish sufficient garrisons for Kahding, Najaor, and Cholin, in each of the two first of which it will also be expedient to place 200 troops, half English and half French, in support of the Chinese, until General Ward's force is sufficiently augmented to enable him to replace them by 300 of his men.

3d. Previous to the capture of Kahding and the other towns from the rebels, proper arrangements shall be made to prevent any men leaving their ranks for the purpose of pillage; and, subsequently, to collect whatever may be of value, in order to its fair distribution amongst the troops, to whom the same is to be made known before the commencement of the operations.

4th. After the proposed operations have been brought to a successful conclusion, it is intended to retain at Shanghai 500 French Infantry, and of English, a half battery of artillery, 250 European and 350 Native Infantry.

On the 27th April the rebel stockades were reconnoitred by General Staveley, during which operation Lieutenant Brown of the 5th Bombay Native Infantry and a private of the 67th Regiment were wounded.

The rebel position was very strong, defended by several ditches and abatis, and there was tolerable good cover in it against artillery fire.

On the 28th April the left of the rebel position was turned by passing the troops over some creeks by means of the pontoons, which being perceived by the rebels caused them to evacuate the position, running the gauntlet of a fire from Enfield rifles at a distance little over 150 yards, and which fire, however, to the disappointment of a musketry instructor, was not so fatal as might have been expected.

The force moved on to Kahding the same day, pursuing the rebels, and on the 1st May at dawn the guns were in position near the south gate. Kahding is a large walled town with projecting bastions at the four gates which serve to flank the walls, which are some twenty feet high ; the ditch is some fifty to sixty feet wide and eight to ten feet deep.

After an hour and a half's firing the wall was rendered practicable for an escalade, and a bridge being formed by passing up the canal some boats, the place was stormed, the resistance being very slight, the rebel loss small except at the north gate,

where some fifty were lying crushed to death by the rush of fugitives; nearly all the rebels escaped.

The forces returned to Shanghai on the 2d May, leaving Major Taylor, 5th Bombay Native Infantry, and 200 men, 200 French Infanterie de la Marine, and some 500 of Ward's force, as the garrison till the Imperialists could come up.

On the 3d May a battery of artillery arrived from the north under Major Govan, R.A.; and on the 9th May the following troops started for the capture of Singpoo, Najaor, and Cholin:

British Troops	1429, 20 guns and mortars
Naval Brigade	380, 5 guns
French Troops and Seamen	800, 10 guns

under Admirals Hope and Prôtet and General Staveley.

The force reached Sungkiong on the 6th,[1] and moved on therefrom on the 7th in boats, for such was the nature of the country that it was impossible to march, owing to the innumerable creeks and ditches intersecting the country. The weather was very wet, which delayed the operations. Reaching Singpoo on the 9th April, the place was reconnoitred, and found to have a very wide, wet ditch, and a wall some eighteen to twenty feet high. The ground around was intersected with creeks in every direction.

[1] An attempt was made on the 6th May to set fire to the city of Shanghai by some rebel emissaries, but it failed through the discovery of some of the party, who numbered 200. The culprits were beheaded

A deserter, James Kent, late a marine in gunboat *Janus*, and an American were captured in the city with some 800 prisoners. They had evidently been engaged in repelling the attack.

On the 12th May the guns opened on the wall, and soon made two capital breaches, the French gunboat No. 12, under Lieutenant Bonnefois, Imperial Navy, bringing down tons of the wall at every shot from her sixty-four-pounder rifled guns. The rebels held out well; but at noon the bridges of boats being formed by the Royal Engineers and French sailors, the place was assaulted: the rebels, however, kept up a fire to the very last.

Ward's force, now of some 2000 men and some Imperialists, surrounded the city, and none of the rebels escaped.

The British loss was one killed and two wounded. The French lost one killed and two officers and six men wounded while on the breach.

Captain Bradshaw, R.A., died of fever on the 12th May, through overwork. He was a very zealous and energetic officer, and had done his arduous work to every one's satisfaction.

Ward left 1000 men in Singpoo to garrison it till the Imperialists could take it over.

(The capture of Ningpoo happened about this time, the account of which has been deferred till the return of this column to Shanghai has been narrated.)

The force now being about to move to the Pootung side, and to attack Najaor and Cholin, Admiral

Hope sent Captain Willes, R.N., with some seamen, and Captain Holland with his marines, to reconnoitre the latter city. They accordingly left on the 12th, and on the 14th May came on a rebel outpost outside the east gate of Cholin, which was surprised, and some prisoners were taken. The reconnoitring party under Captain Willes remained near this port till the main body came up, which, however, coming by another creek, was on the 15th May close to Najaor, some eight miles distant.

It must be remarked that the only roads of escape for the rebels from Yonguai, Naiwai, Chuensha, were through either Najaor or Cholin, and near both of which places we had troops on the 16th May.

Najaor was a large village, strongly entrenched on all sides, with a small outwork on the edge of the main canal, which led past it, and which commanded the village. It had from two to three deep ditches, and was thickly strewn with abatis.

General Staveley, having reconnoitred the place, decided on attacking the outwork. Accordingly a heavy fire was brought on it and its magazine exploded, which caused the rebels to vacate it and to run into the town; seeing which a party of the 31st Regiment advanced and stormed it, under a heavy fire of gingals and muskets, and pressing on, soon entered the town through the embrasures of the entrenchment. It was during this advance that the French Admiral Prôtet was shot dead. The rebels ran for it now, and lost rather heavily.

The Emperor issued a decree on the death of Admiral Prôtet, directing all honours to be paid him, and presenting 100 Martin skins and four rolls of imperial silk to his friends.

The party retreated on Cholin, where the rebels had had a repulse from Captain Willes on that very day. They had come out and attacked his small party of 180 with a large force, but were met by the marines under Captain Holland, the seamen under Commander Strode, and driven back with the loss of forty killed.

Naiwai, one of the towns interior to Najaor, surrendered to the Imperialists, and was admitted to terms (Woo, its chief, being given a command) about this time.

On the 18th May the force moved on to Cholin, leaving 200 British, under Captain Stack, H.M. 67th, and 120 French Chasseurs, as garrison at Najaor.

Arriving late on the 18th, the force remained quiet on the 19th, with the exception of the capture of an outwork outside the east gate, which was carried by Lieutenant Kingsley, 67th Regiment, and a company of his men.

At daybreak on the 20th the guns opened on the wall, and at 8 A.M. two breaches were made, and the places assaulted by a company of the 31st Regiment under Lieutenant Deane, the ditch being bridged by boats, which were passed into it from the canal leading up to the east gate by Lieutenant Sanford, R.E., and the Engineers. The capture of Cholin concluded

the intended operations of the allies, and hemmed the rebels into the Pooting peninsula. A party of seamen were sent off to examine the route to Yonguai, the next city interior to Cholin, where it was recalled under the following circumstances, which changed the course of affairs.

It will be remembered that some British and French troops had been left in garrison at Kahding, where they had been joined by 5000 to 6000 of the Imperialists, who had come down from Nganking by Richardson's steamers. These men being much elated with the success that was attending their armies, determined to attack Taitsan, a rebel city some twelve miles from Kahding, being urged to do it by the Futai Sieh (who had been superseded by Li Hung Chung, the present Futai of Kiangsoo, and who was anxious to be able to report a victory before he gave up his office).

The Imperialists started out and reached Taitsan about the 12th May.

The Chung Wang was at Souchow while these operations were going on, and was infuriated at this move of the Imperialists. He left Souchow for Taitsan, and arrived there on the 14th May with 10,000 picked troops. He engaged the Imperialists on the 15th May, but although the combat lasted all day it was indecisive. The next day 2000 of his men shaved their heads and pretended to join the Imperialists. Chung Wang continued to move round so as to intercept their retreat, and then

attacked them, when the pretended rebels turned over again, and the result was a most disastrous defeat —scarcely 2000 out of 7000 returned to Kahding.

Chung Wang advanced on Kahding in pursuit, and surrounded the city; he pushed on his hordes on the 20th May 1862 towards Wusung, which was saved from capture by the presence of the *Starling* gunboat, while one of his advanced posts, situated at Naizean, had, on the 21st May 1862, surprised a party of a naval officer, ten sailors, and fifteen Bombay Native Infantry who were on their way to Kahding with a twelve-pounder howitzer and some 100,000 rounds of small arm ammunition, and, attacking them while among the ruined houses, killed seven of the sepoys, took four prisoners, and dispersing the party, captured the gun and the boats (the gun was eventually retaken at Souchow).

This was the intelligence brought to the general and admiral in the evening of the 20th, which caused them to return to Shanghai as soon as possible.

Orders were given to increase the breach in the wall by a mine, which was done by the Royal Engineers, and to burn the city and to prepare to leave at daybreak.

At 10 P.M. the besiegers were attacked by the rebels, and one or two of the sentries killed. These rebels were the runaways from Yonguai and Chuensha, which they had vacated, and who were trying to escape; they were very numerous, and

their attacks repeatedly made on the advanced posts. At dawn the allied forces retired towards Shanghai, and the rebels were allowed to pass by, an act of forbearance on the part of the allied commanders which they ought to have been truly grateful for.

The allied force returned to Shanghai on the 22d May 1862. The rebels were again burning and driving the people in from the neighbourhood, while Kahding was closely surrounded.

The general moved out to relieve Kahding on the 24th May and reached Naizean without opposition that evening. The bodies of the dead sepoys were found here in the creek; it had been a complete surprise for the convoy.

On the morning of the 25th Chung Wang came down on Naizean and attacked the outposts, keeping up a perpetual skirmish the whole day. His men showed great pluck, and our troops could not do much owing to the quick retreats of the enemy, who attacked on all sides. The weather also was very hot; the rebels killed one Punjaubee and wounded four others; they actually had the temerity to advance and struggle with the sentries, and had it not been for Lieutenant Gardiner of the 31st Regiment, who came to the assistance of a marine, the rebels would have taken his rifle from him.

That evening a range of half ruined buildings fell down on the Chinese gun Lascars, killing nineteen and wounding seventy.

The same desultory skirmishing took place all

the 26th May, when the vivacity of the rebels, the difficulties of transport, and the neglect and apathy of the Futai, made the general decide on the evacuation of Kahding, which was effected on the 27th May, and which city was immediately reoccupied by the Chung Wang, who claimed a victory, the force returning to Shanghai on the 28th May 1862.

Chung Wang describes this in his autobiography, and says that he fought with the foreign devils for three days, victory hanging in an even scale, and 2000 or 3000 on each side being killed daily. That on the fourth day, having received reinforcements, he attacked and surrounded the devils, and retook Kahding.

He says that the onslaught of the foreign devils upon a city was very fierce. They usually took them in ten or twelve hours; their guns were very powerful, and every shot took effect; they would open fire along their line and under cover rush on for the city. When the devils took cities they would not allow the Imperialists to loot, though the devils took what they liked. The Tien Wang would not employ them for that reason. The idea of foreign devils controlling his troops was insupportable.

The rebels during these last engagements showed to what extent they had been supplied by unscrupulous traders with arms, for the percentage of muskets was fully 30 per cent, which, distributed among 10,000 or 15,000 men, will form a very fair

number of skirmishers in a broken country which they know well.

Singpoo, which was garrisoned with 1000 men of Ward's force, and Sungkiong, Ward's head-quarters, were now blockaded and threatened by the victorious Chung Wang, while his scouting and maurauding parties were pushed close to Shanghai and then to Ningpo.

The allies held also Najaor, while the ex-rebel, Woo of Naiwai, held Cholin (a mere shell since its capture), which protected the Pooting peninsula.

The rebels had been in undisturbed possession of Ningpo since 9th December 1861. We had stationed there for the protection of the foreign settlement the *Ringdove*, and the French had the *Etoile*, Captain Kenny, I.N. The rebels had conducted themselves very well up to the time that our troops began to act against their brethren near Shanghai, when they began to dispute our right to the settlement, and to fire rifle-shots into it from the walls of the city and also on the gunboats, whereby two or three people were killed.

A gross case of this kind took place on the 22d April, when two or three men were seen deliberately to fire at the *Ringdove;* they were reported to the admiral, Sir James Hope, at Shanghai, who ordered down Captain Dew of the *Encounter* with his vessel, to demand first an ample apology for the insult; secondly, that they should remove a

thirty-two-pounder battery they had made, and which was directed against the shipping.

The rebels replied that they regretted the firing on the shipping and into the settlement; that they disputed our right to the settlement, which belonged to the Heavenly Dynasty; and that they could not move the guns or fort; that should the allies do so, they would show a desire to quarrel; that they should not take the initiative, but leave it to us, when they would try conclusions with us which was the cock and which was the hen.

This was received on the 29th April, on which day the Tai and Shon Wangs, who had just returned from Nankin, addressed the rebels in the city, telling them that the foreign devils had refused to sell them rice, and mentioning their intention of attacking the settlement, offered 100 taels or £30 for each foreigner's head, and a rise of rank for the execution of ten foreigners, and promised to the soldiers the loot of the settlement.

Captain Dew repeated his demand on 2d May for the removal of the guns, but waived the destruction of the battery, which letter they answered more civilly, but still refused to move the guns.

Captain Dew thereupon moved his flotilla, consisting of the *Encounter*, *Hardy*, *Kestrel*, and *Ringdove*, and the French gunboat *Etoile*, to the settlement, and prevented any communication between Ningpo and the sea.

The Taoutai of Ningpo had now secured the

assistance of Apak, a noted pirate, and had organised an expedition for the capture of Chinhae, at the mouth of the river leading to Ningpo. This place he attacked on the 6th May, and the rebels vacated the city in the night.

On receiving the news of the capture of Chinhae Captain Dew again wrote to the rebel chiefs of Ningpo, and telling them we wished to remain neutral, but that if they fired on the settlement they would be bombarded in the city.

Everything remained quiet till the morning of the 10th May, when the rebels opened fire on the *Etoile* and *Kestrel*, and then fired a volley into the *Encounter*.

The vessels cleared for action and opened fire on the city for four hours, when, the wall being well damaged, a party of French and English seamen landed and escaladed the walls, Captain Dew and Mr. Douglas, midshipman, being the first to mount. Captain Kenny of the French Navy was dangerously wounded; and he died from the effects of his wound.

When they attained the summit of the wall the rebels charged on them again and again, but with no effect.

Captain Dew pushed on along the wall to the Salt Gate, and at 4 P.M. the bridge of boats which prevented the vessels entering the ditch was removed by Lieutenant Huxham of the *Kestrel*, who spiked the guns of the battery defending it, and the vessels passed up.

The rebels made continual attempts to take the Salt Gate, in repulsing one of which Lieutenant Cornewall, the first lieutenant of the *Encounter*, was killed.

About 5 P.M. the rebels retreated, and the city was quiet, and 500 of Ward's men were sent down to garrison it.

This action of Captain Dew's was perhaps the finest thing done in China, considering the force he had and that of the rebels. His loss was some twenty-six wounded and three killed.

A ship was seized in Ningpo with 50 tons of powder on board, 300 guns of all calibres, and 100 cases of muskets which some merchants had sent for sale to the rebels. It was confiscated.[1]

[1] This increasing practice of selling arms to the rebels led to a correspondence between Mr. Frederick Bruce and Lord Russell, and in November of the same year the latter despatched the following regulation for issue: "Whereas by virtue of several Statutes of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain, and of an Order of Her Majesty in Council, dated 13th June 1853, Her Majesty's Chief Superintendent of British trade in China is authorised and empowered to make and to enforce, by fine or imprisonment, Rules and Regulations for the observance of the stipulations of the Treaties between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China, and for the peace, order, and good government of Her Majesty's subjects being within the dominions of the Emperor of China, or being within any British ship or vessel at a distance of not more than 100 miles from the coast of China.

"Now I, the Honourable Frederick Bruce, etc. etc., being Her Majesty's Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China, do, in pursuance and in execution of the aforesaid authority, hereby make the following Rule, Regulation, and Order, that is to say: That all Her Majesty's subjects, being within the dominions of the Emperor of China, or being within any British ship or vessel at a distance of not more than 100 miles from the coast of China, are strictly prohibited, under the penalties aforesaid, from importing or introducing, or causing to be imported or introduced into any part of the dominions of the Emperor of China, and from transmitting or causing to be transmitted from any

We must now return to Singpoo and Sungkiong, leaving the narration of the Ying Wang's misfortunes and the events at Nankin to be noticed afterwards.

Chung Wang, on the evacuation of Kahding, started for Singpoo, which he blockaded, and then advanced against Sungkiong, which was held by Ward and his men, now much reduced in numbers by the garrisons he had at Singpoo and Ningpo. The *Centaur*, under Captain Montgomerie, was lying in the Wompoa river, three miles from the city, to give him assistance. (The prisoners taken at Singpoo had been given to Ward to make soldiers of, but when he got pressed for provisions he sent them out of the city, where they joined together and attacked the Imperialist camp at Quanfuling, and captured it on the 2d June 1862. This made Ward very severe with any rebels he caught afterwards.)

On the 29th May Chung Wang advanced on Sungkiong, and beleaguered it on all sides. A party of seamen, under Lieutenant Stephens, R.N., from the *Centaur*, were landed as an assistance to the garrison, which were not in very good heart, like all Chinese when difficulties come on them. At 5.30 A.M. on the 30th 1500 rebels attempted to scale the walls. They were discovered by Robert Stephens,

part of the said dominions to any part thereof, any arms, ammunition gunpowder, or naval or military stores, except under special license from one of Her Majesty's Consular Officers in China, and under the express condition and guarantee that none of the aforesaid articles are destined for the use of the insurgents in arms against Her Majesty's ally the Emperor of China."

a seaman of the *Centaur*, who was sentry over a twelve-pounder howitzer on the west gate. One rebel had already got on the wall and met the seaman, who challenged him, when the rebel fired on him, which he returned and killed the rebel, giving the alarm, which brought all the *Centaur's* men to the spot. They could see the rebels under the wall in large numbers, into whom they fired, killing two Europeans and some hundred men.

The Imperialists at Quanfuling were driven out of their stockades on the 2d June, as already stated, and the rebels came down in force on Sungkiong, and on the same day, as Captain Montgomerie's gig was coming up from the river to the city by the creek with some ten or twelve gunboats belonging to Ward, the rebels perceived them and attacked them, driving away the crews. A sortie by Captain Montgomerie and Ward, with the sailors and some of Ward's men, drove them back, and recaptured the gig and the boats; but the rebels carried off 300 to 400 muskets out of 500, and thirty-six kegs of powder out of fifty which were in the boats, the crews escaping back to the *Centaur*.

Forester, who was left in command at Singpoo, was now entirely surrounded by the rebels, who entrenched themselves at each gate. On the 1st June 1862 their chief, Ching, sent a proclamation into the city, telling their garrison "that they had recaptured Kahding, and had now come down to attack Singpoo, that the most detestable are the strange devils and

foreign demons; and that he had heard that among the garrison were men disguised as foreign demons, throwing away their lives for nought; nevertheless that he had left the south gate open for them to escape if they wished to leave. He engaged not to attack them as they ran away."

Forester answered that he would not give up the city. The man who brought the letter was the chief himself in disguise.

They sent another letter into the city on the next day, couched in the same terms, and recommending the "barbarian troops to return to their native country, as being a distinct race, and seeking trade, they were not wanted there."

On the 3d, 4th, and 5th June the rebels continued their attacks on Singpoo and Sungkiong, at which latter place they had the temerity to erect a battery, two or three times attempting to breach the walls, but the heavier artillery soon disposed of it.

On the 5th June the Chung Wang summoned Ward to surrender, but no answer was given.

The position at Singpoo was very bad, for although the garrison under Forester made many sorties against the rebel works and destroyed them, yet they suffered losses which they could not replace. Besides, the Chinese troops are not good sentinels, and the walls being three miles in extent, were liable to be escaladed at any point in that distance. The officers under Forester were not all trustworthy, and he had immense trouble to keep the place,

being ably assisted by the surgeon, Dr. Bates, an American.

Ward therefore did not choose to risk any more in trying to retain it, so he applied to the general and Admiral Hope to give him a force by which he could make his way in and relieve the garrison.

This was granted, and 200 men, under Colonel Spence, 31st Regiment, and the Naval Brigade, under Admiral Hope, went up with Ward on the 10th June, and with two steamers. The rebels were very bold, and fired on the steamers from Quanfuling.

Ward got into the city at 8 A.M., and ordered its evacuation. He then directed it to be set on fire—a very foolish act, for it showed the rebels that the city was being vacated, and caused a great deal of confusion. The rebels entered before the garrison had left, and taking Colonel Forester prisoner, drove out the garrison with considerable loss, owing to the bridge over the ditch having given way. The rebels were pursued then down to where Admiral Hope was with his force. Altogether it was a disastrous affair, for the bridges over the innumerable creeks which intersect the country having been broken down previously, many were drowned.

Chung Wang expatiates with considerable pleasure in his history on what he considers a great victory over the devils. The rebels called the Ward force "Cha-Yang-Kweitzer" or "False Foreign Devils," owing to their being dressed in foreign clothes, which was a whim of the Chinese authorities,

who thought it would inspire more dread. It was a mistake; the national dress was much better, and did not serve to raise the jealousy of the other Imperial troops.

Chung Wang's career was, however, cut short by news from Nankin. The poor Four-Eyed Dog had been captured and killed, and Tien Wang was in great fear for Nankin, which was again attacked.

It appears that the Ying Wang or Four-Eyed Dog fell back on Tungching after the failure of the various expeditions to save Nganking, and that he was deprived of his rank for the loss of that place by the Tien Wang.

He then moved to Souchow, where he was besieged by the Imperialists. The city was reduced to such a state that the men became mutinous and vacated it on the 13th May 1862, losing heavily.

On the 15th May 1862 the Ying Wang was deluded by an ex-rebel (Miaopeling, a subordinate of Shingpao) to enter Souchou, under the pretext that it would be surrendered to him. Ying Wang, with 3000 men, with twenty-eight high rebel dignataries and leaders, entered the city, when the drawbridge was drawn up and the chiefs taken prisoners.

The Nienfei, under their leader, attempted to take the city, but were defeated with heavy loss.

The poor Ying Wang, who deserved a better fate, was executed, and his captors, Miaopeling and Shingpao, were pardoned — the first for his past rebellion, and the latter promoted for having con-

cocted the treachery. Miaopeling, however, broke out again into rebellion in October 1863, and was executed; while Shingpao was also degraded for having recommended him for service, and ordered to commit suicide. This man was the Imperialist general who was defeated at Patichow, in October 1860, by the allies, and who ordered Captain Brabazon, R.A., and Abbé Suc, who had been treacherously seized, to be executed at Patichow Bridge in his retreat.

The Imperialists had also advanced down the Yangtze river from Nganking, and captured the West Pillar in May 1862. The rebels held on to the East Pillar (these Pillars are high conical hills on opposite banks of the Yangtze, some ten miles lower down the river than Wutui, which they were also besieging on the south bank, and which they had assaulted thrice unsuccessfully).

Tseng kwoh tsuen, the brother of Tseng kwoh fan, also moved down with 40,000 men against Nankin, and established himself at the south-west of the city, and had his camps extending from the river Ya-hua-ta (Porcelain Tower Hill), which was held by the rebels, and around which he had begun to entrench himself.

Things were in this state when Tien Wang sent down to Chung Wang in June, ordering him up. He was so alarmed that he sent three messengers in one day. Chung Wang, however, was engaged at Souchow; and in the meantime Souchow had been

taken north of the river, and Woohoo and Taeping had been taken on the south of the river.

The Tien Wang's orders were now so peremptory that Chung Wang was obliged to go up to Nankin, leaving Mow Wang or Tan-shas-kwang, a man he had great confidence in, as chief at Souchow. He arrived in August at Nankin, having passed through Liyang.

He found things in a bad way, for, as he naïvely remarks with respect to the series of reverses they had met with, "as the bamboo when once split splits easily all the way down," so had there by the loss of Nganking been losses of many other places.

Chung Wang was engaged from September to October trying to take the Imperialist works which were surrounding Yu-hua-ta, but failed in doing so. This enraged the Tien Wang, who deprived him of his nobility, etc., and ordered him to march into Angwhui to join with the remnant of Ying Wang's troops. He accordingly started in November 1862 for Hoochow, for the purpose of collecting these remnants together, and thus be able to confront the Imperialists.

It is now necessary to narrate the events which took place at Shanghai and Ningpo from June to December 1862.

The rebels having gained Singpoo and Kahding remained quiet in their cities. While the summer heats prevented the allies from moving, the works of defence around Shanghai were completed, and

Admiral Hope and General Staveley went away, the one to Chefoo to recover from his wound, the other to Japan to recruit his health, now much impaired.

Colonel Thomas, 67th Regiment, in command of the garrison of Shanghai, and Captain Dew, with the *Encounter*, were left at Ningpo with some 1500 men of Ward's force, who was himself at Sungkiong.

A detachment of British troops still formed a garrison for Najaor. Such was the state of affairs in July 1862.

Ward's force was now some 5000 strong. It was well armed with percussion muskets, and had a very good artillery officered by men of all grades and nations. Forester had been ransomed from the rebels for a certain number of muskets, and was at Ningpo.

The force was still paid by the Chinese merchants of Shanghai, and was only partially under Li Futai. Ward had now some three or four steamers, and had assumed a very good position among the Chinese authorities, and could get what money he required without trouble. His officers were well paid, the higher ranks receiving £70 per mensem, and the lieutenants £30 per mensem. The men received rather more than 1s. 6d. per diem, on which they had to subsist when in garrison, having their rations free while in the field. All the officers were foreigners, the non-commissioned officers and men being Chinese. One Chinaman alone was commissioned,

Wongepoo, who greatly distinguished himself before Admiral Hope on one occasion.

Woo, the ex-chief of Naiwai, who was occupying Cholin, having made overtures to the rebels at Kin-saiwai, a town some eighteen miles to the west of Cholin, it was arranged that Ward should advance against it, when it would surrender. Accordingly Ward and some of his troops advanced on the 18th July, and after firing a few shots the city was vacated, part of the rebels coming over to the Imperialists. This enabled the British garrison to be relieved from Najaor and to return to Shanghai.

In the Che-kiang province the Governor-General of Fuhkien, and Tso the Futai of Che-kiang, had advanced and recaptured by July the cities of Tchangchan, Kuitehon, Tsinagun, Sienku, Taipin, and Lotsin.

In consequence of the rebels making raids from Yuyaon into the districts around Ningpo, Captain Dew and the officer in command of the French vessel determined to take that city.

Accordingly, on the 30th July, Captain Dew, with the *Hardy* gunboat and forty of the *Encounter's* seamen, and some French seamen, with 1000 of Ward's men under Major Morton of that force, and some 500 Franco-Chinese under Lieutenant Le Breton, I.N. (a force lately realised similar to Ward's), started for Yuyaon,[1] thirty miles from Ningpo.

[1] Yuyaon was taken by the British forces under Lord Gough.

They arrived on the 1st August, and the Chinese drilled forces were detailed to attack the Joss House or Temple on the Hill, which commanded the town, but after six hours' fighting they were repulsed, having 8 officers and 180 men wounded.

On the 2d August Captain Dew, finding that the rebels were too strong for the Chinese drilled troops, pushed the *Hardy* gunboat, rendered bullet proof with cotton bales, up the canal into the rebel defences, when such a panic took place that the rebels vacated the city, which was occupied by the Imperialists.

Tso, Futai of Che-kiang, at this time captured Yenchow, and was preparing with 40,000 men to attack She Wang or the Attendant King, now at Amoy, at Kinhoa, who wrote to one of his officers on the 7th August complaining about the state of the rebel affairs, but the letter was intercepted.

In this letter he puts down their disasters to their having abandoned Angwhui to invade Che-kiang, and to having neglected to hold Tchangchan, which was necessary to secure their retreat into Kiangsi. He states that the people were rising against them, and that this was caused by the excesses of their soldiers, who force the people to rebel by their acts of rapine. He concludes his letter by praising his officer for his good government, and says that by such a course of action should "any mishap be met with, they would still have places to retreat to, whereas if the people are ill treated, they would find no spot of earth for their bodies to rest on."

It will be seen that the troops from Che-kiang and Fuhkien were advancing successfully from the south, and in such a manner as to press the rebels towards the southern shore of Hangchow Bay.

On the 6th August Ward left Sungkiong with the small steamer *Hyson*, carrying a thirty-two-pounder gun and 2600 infantry and artillery, for the attack of Singpoo. He made a battery on the 7th August for his guns, and breached the wall to the right of the south gate and assaulted, but was driven back with heavy loss, owing to some mismanagement with the bridge over the ditch. The *Hyson's* thirty-two-pounder gun burst at the moment of attack, and being out of ammunition, Ward drew his troops off for the day.

Having obtained fresh supplies of ammunition, he recommenced his fire on the 9th August, and after some time, before he could destroy the rebel breastwork on the top of the breach, he assaulted and carried the place. He lost heavily in the two assaults in men and officers, one of whom, Major Tartol, an Hungarian, was a very good officer.

The Imperialists garrisoned the city, and Ward returned to Sungkiong.

This attack of Ward's made the rebels in Souchow move, and their bands soon appeared in the vicinity of Shanghai again. They advanced, burning and driving in the people on the 18th August, and continued to do so till the 22d August, when they attacked the coolies who were carrying out

rations to the detachment of the 31st Regiment, who were stationed as an advanced post at Tah-wa, four miles from Shanghai, and came down to the Bubbling Well, a village one mile from the settlement, in which they killed several people. Shanghai was crammed with fugitives.

The rebels, however, had advanced far enough, and on the 25th August Captain Borlase, R.N., went out with the Mounted Rangers, under Captain Gordon, at dawn of day, and surprising them, killed some thirty of them; while Colonel Thomas, on the 26th August, went out against them and drove them back in another direction, after which they retired. These rebels were mere marauders, and had no idea of attacking Shanghai.

About 15th September 1862 the rebels, who had been driven out of Yuyaon, returned and attacked it, failing which they fell on Tseeki, a town where a severe action took place, 15th March 1842, between the British and Imperial troops, and captured it from the Imperialists with ease.

General Ward, who was now at Ningpo, took 1150 of his men, and, accompanied by Commander Bogle, R.N., and the *Hardy* gunboat, started on the 20th September to retake Tseeki, where the rebels were very numerous. On the 21st September the *Hardy's* gun breached the wall, and Ward's men, led by his orderly, Vincenti, assaulted and carried the place with the loss of six killed and thirteen wounded. Ward, however, was shot in the stomach at the

moment of assault, and was removed to Ningpo, where Captain Dew was (he having been prevented from being present owing to the capture of Fung-wha by the rebels on the 20th August, who were advancing on Ningpo).

General Ward lived through the night and died on the morning of the 22d September 1862, aged thirty-seven years.

His remains were taken back to Sungkiong and buried in that city. Forester, his second in command, refused to take the post of commander, which devolved on Burgevine, the third in command. Ward was a brave, energetic leader, and managed both the force and the mandarins very ably; he was much regretted by every one.

Colonel Forester, having concerted with Captain Dew, R.N., and Lieutenant Le Breton of the French Navy, who commanded the Franco-Chinese force for the recapture of Fungwha, an expedition started for that place on the 8th October 1862, consisting of 3000 of the late Ward force under Forester, of 500 Franco-Chinese under Le Breton, and the crews of the *Encounter* and *Sphinx*, and the two gunboats *Flamer* and *Hardy*, and arrived before it on the 9th October. Guns were placed to breach the walls, and after a time Major Rhode, with 400 men of Ward's force, advanced to the assault, but they were met with a very heavy fire, and many of the men carrying ladders being wounded, they were repulsed. Commander Jones,

R.N., with twenty Blue Jackets were then sent forward with the disciplined Chinese, but it was of no avail; they would not follow. Commander Jones placed his men in the archway of the gate and attempted to cut through the woodwork, but when they did so they found the gate was blocked up. While in this position they were assailed with bags of powder, stink-pots, and every sort of agreeable article from above; they were withdrawn at night.

On the 10th October, while waiting for powder bags, a body of Poo rebels advanced to relieve the city; they were attacked and put to flight, and the rebels in the city seeing this, vacated it during the night.

Captain Bruman of Ward's force, with two others, was wounded, and also some twenty to forty men; the navy had twenty-four wounded in this attack.

Orders having been received from the home Government to retake Kahding, General Staveley started from Shanghai on the 22d October with the 31st and 67th Regiments and the artillery, some 1300 men; Admiral Sir James Hope with the naval brigade, some 570 men; Captain Faucon of the Imperial Navy with 500 French sailors and soldiers, and 2000 of the Sungkiong force under General Burgevine, and twenty-six guns and mortars.

They arrived at Kahding on 23d October, and found that the rebels had constructed two very strong outworks outside the south and east gates.

The guns were got into position at night, and opened at daylight, 24th October. Lieutenant Lyster, R.E., pushed up his boats where the breach was practicable, and the place was taken with feeble resistance, most of the rebels escaping.

One sailor was killed, and one artilleryman, and three Chinese, and twenty-four were wounded. The city was given over to the Imperialists, and the force returned to Shanghai on the 26th October 1862.[1]

Admiral Sir James Hope's time had now expired, and he was succeeded by Admiral Kuper.

On the 11th November, before he left, he made arrangements with the Futai to leave Captain Holland, R.M.L.I., as chief of the staff to General Burgevine.

At Shanghai there were now a body of Chinese drilled in European style by Lieutenant Kingsley,

[1] General Staveley wrote to Sir G. C. Lewis relative to this attack from Kahding, under date 24th October. This despatch is chiefly interesting from its honourable mention of Gordon, who was actively engaged in this and indeed all the actions he names which represented an attempt to clear the thirty miles' radius round Shanghai of the rebels. General Staveley says—

"The recapture of Kahding completes the radius of thirty miles round Shanghai which it was decided should be cleared of the Taeping rebels.

"I trust that the excellent conduct of the troops, under very tempting circumstances and the very arduous nature of the service, will be favourably considered. I wish to mention for favourable notice Captain Gordon, commanding Royal Engineers; Captain Mansergh, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Gammall, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Dr. Rennie, 31st Regiment, Senior Medical Officer; Assistant Commissary-General Thompson, in charge of Commissariat; Lieutenant Jebb, 31st Regiment; and the Prince Witgenstein of 1st Prussian Lancer Guard Regiment, who acted as my Aide-de-camp."

67th Regiment, and Lieutenant Jebb of the 31st Regiment; these men were paid and clothed by the Chinese authorities.

The Russian Government sent an officer about this time to Shanghai to offer the governor or Futai their assistance of 10,000 men against the rebels, which, coupled with their having given the Pekin troops 10,000 rifles and a battery of artillery in July, caused rather a commotion; the offer of the Russian Government was declined, and it ended in their offering to co-operate with the allies.

The country remained quiet till the 10th November, when Mow Wang, wanting to gather the harvest near Singpoo, sent his son and a large force to stockade themselves at a large village, Powokong, eight miles north of Singpoo. They had, however, barely settled themselves than Li Futai with General Ching (the ex-rebel before mentioned as having come over at Nganking), with the Imperialists who had come from Yangtze, moved out against them at the same time as Burgevine advanced from Sungkiong. The rebels were attacked on both sides, and were repulsed, but before being so they killed Wongepoo (the young Chinaman who distinguished himself so much with Admiral Hope, and to whom the admiral had given his sword on leaving).

The rebels were pursued, and through the breaking of one of their bridges lost very heavily, Vincenti killing Mow Wang's son himself, and taking his pony, silver stirrups, and saddlery.

Burgevine and the Futai[1] had not been on the best of terms before this, and the Futai's behaviour in taking all the credit of this victory widened the breach between them. General Ching, who was jealous of the disciplined Chinese, fomented the quarrel, which daily increased in magnitude, partially owing to Burgevine's peremptory manner, and partly to the mistrust and jealousy of the Futai, who was a clever, shrewd man.

The Chinese merchants, now that the rebels were at some distance from Shanghai, and no doubt influenced by the dislike of the Futai to the force, no longer would advance such large sums for its maintenance.

It must be mentioned that there were reports that Ward had intended, had he lived, to establish an independent state in the country, and which reports, whether true or false, made the Chinese distrustful of the force and its commanders.

The district around Yuyaon being ravaged by the rebels from Shangyer, it was determined to capture this city, which was twenty miles from Ningpo. Accordingly 700 of the Sungkiong force under Major Cook, and 1000 Franco-Chinese under Le Breton, started on the 17th November, and attacked the rebel stockades without success for two days, when they were joined by Captain Dew and a thirty-two-pounder gun, which soon dispersed the rebels, who vacated the city on the 20th Nov-

[1] Li Hung Chung.

ember. Lieutenant Giquel, I.N., was wounded at this city.

The 29th Beloochi Regiment, under Colonel Hough, having arrived, the 22d Punjaub Native Infantry and the 5th Bombay Native Infantry left for India.

There were no more engagements with the rebels during the remainder of 1862. It is now necessary to explain the causes which led to the dismissal of General Burgevine, and the placing of an English officer in command of the Sungkiong force.

It has already been mentioned that the Futai Li and other Chinese authorities were inimical to Burgevine, and now the Chinese merchants who had hitherto supported the force, free from dread of the rebels, and influenced by the Futai's example, were not disposed to give such large sums for its maintenance as they had formerly done.

Li Futai had also recommended the Pekin Government to send the force to Nankin with Woo, the ex-Taoutai of Shanghai, and Burgevine had agreed to go. Several large steamers were taken up for the transport of the troops.

Li and Woo, however, were so suspicious of their general that they came to General Staveley about the 1st December, and begged him to remove Burgevine and put an English officer in command. General Staveley told them he would report their request to the home Government and to Mr. Bruce, as he had not power to grant it, and he thought

they could not remove Burgevine with no reason. They complained of the lavish expenses of the force both under Ward and Burgevine; of the interference of the latter with the civil government of Sungkiong; of his having made a new water-gate in the wall of the city (which cannot be done in China but by special permission from Pekin); of the disputes with the soldiers of his force with the Imperialists; and of their plundering the inhabitants; and of the generally insulting manner Burgevine had of treating them, whose servant he was, etc. etc. General Staveley told them he would refer the matter, and told them on what terms they would obtain an English officer if the Government authorised it, and which terms were drawn up in the rough at the time.

The complaints of the Chinese were to some degree true. The expenses of the force had amounted to £30,000 per mensem, of which a great deal was squandered away; and since Ward's death they had not gained any great victories.

This interview was quite unsought for by General Staveley, who from the very first had disapproved of the force and of its composition. His ideas were that if the Chinese Government wished to organise their army they should be assisted to do so in a proper manner. Neither he nor Mr. Bruce ever liked these forces, officered by a body of men who, however brave, were not all of a class which represent the foreigner in his best light to the Chinese. General

Staveley would sooner have seen the force broken up than any assistance given it in this shape. For he saw ahead, and considered what would be the finale of it when the rebellion was over.

He, however, managed the terms in order that, should Her Majesty's Government think otherwise, there would be something to reason on. It has been said that several steamers were now taken up for the conveyance of 6000 men from Sungkiong to Nankin; but for two months the troops had not been paid regularly, and they refused to move till paid up; besides which, Burgevine wanted all the back claims against the force cleared up before he left, and which, as they involved great sums, the Chinese merchants would not do at once. To say the truth, neither men nor officers much relished the expedition—the former being natives of Sungkiong and its neighbourhood, like all Chinese, did not like going away from their homes, while the officers thought that when sent up to Nankin they would be so much at the mercy of the Imperialists that their lives and pay would be jeopardised; while on the other hand, there is no doubt that the Chinese authorities were glad to make Burgevine feel how much he was in their power, and then to force him to pay more attention to their instructions, while they doubted his going to Nankin at all.

Takee, through whose hands the payments of the force were made, promised Burgevine to pay the men when they had started for Nankin. This the

men would not submit to, and a mutiny broke out on the 2d January 1863 among the troops, which was, however, soon quelled.

Takee now sent up to say that the money would be up in two days, which, being told to the men, resulted in quieting them.

Burgevine went to Shanghai on the 4th January, and called on Takee, who treated him very rudely, and denied having written the letter about the payment of the troops. Burgevine, knowing that the money was in the house ready to go up, ordered the compradore or head steward to take it down with his bodyguard to the steamer, and being enraged with Takee, struck him several times in the face. There is little doubt that Takee presumed too much on his position to such a hot-tempered man as Burgevine; but neither the Chinese authorities nor the public attached any blame to Burgevine for taking the money, which was paid to the troops by Takee's compradore in the same way as it would have been if sent up. His fault was in striking a mandarin of Takee's rank—a very grave offence in China, and at the best a foolish thing to do.

Burgevine went up with the money and paid the troops, and Takee reported the matter to the Futai.

The Futai, in great fear of a revolt, went to General Staveley and the Consul, and requested them to arrest him. General Staveley refused to do so, but agreed to write a letter and tell Burgevine that the Futai had dismissed him, and recommended him

to give up the force quietly; which being received by Burgevine, was complied with.

He left his chief of the staff, Captain Holland of the Royal Marines, in temporary command, and came down to Shanghai on the 6th January.[1]

[1] On the 10th January Burgevine made the following statement relative to this affair in a Shanghai paper —

"On Friday the 2d instant I came to Shanghai from Sungkiong, for the purpose of receiving money promised on that day for the payment of the men. On landing I was informed that it was all ready—in fact, I supposed it at that moment on board one of the steamers about to start. I went at once to Takee's to thank him for so punctually keeping his promise, but was met with language so abusive that I determined to return at once to Sungkiong, and have no more personal dealing with him. I found that place in almost a state of mutiny: proclamations posted that the men would have the heads of the mandarins; that they were starving; that they would dispose of their arms and clothing to procure food, and were ripe for an *émeute*. I ordered a general parade at 2 P.M., for the purpose of explaining why they had not been paid. Previous to this, however, I received a letter from Takee, saying the money was all ready, and urging me to send for it immediately. Captain Holland received a letter to the same effect. On the strength of this promise I guaranteed that the troops should be paid in two days. I left at once for Shanghai, but on my arrival there next morning was coolly informed that Takee had not only denied writing the letter, but still refused to send the money. I immediately proceeded to his house with a small portion of my guard who usually accompany me. There was no forcible entrance—no confusion; the men standing quietly at 'Order arms' while Takee's compradore removed the money. I was aware of the responsibility of the course I was taking, but felt justified in so doing by the critical state of affairs in Sungkiong. There was no time for deliberation: it was truly a question of money or the existence of the force and the lives of the European officers. The money had been appropriated for the use of the troops, and was immediately paid to them on its arrival at Sungkiong. The only part of the affair I regret is having struck Takee. In regard to the Nankin expedition, had the Chinese authorities kept faith with me in furnishing funds necessary to ensure its success, the expedition would have started long since. It would have been madness to have appeared under the walls with men without winter clothing, and guns without ammunition. Moreover, the English and French authorities, both naval and military, protested against withdrawing so large a force from Sungkiong. The troops being in arrears and discontented, and large amounts un-

It has been already stated that the Futai had hitherto but little control over the Sungkiong force, but it now came under him entirely, the Chinese merchants no longer supporting all the expenses.

The dismissal of Burgevine caused great commotion in the Sungkiong force, which was allayed by the arrival of the ex-Taoutai Woo to pay the troops.

On the 12th January General Staveley wrote to the Futai and recommended him to put Colonel Forester, who was now at Ningpo, in command of the force, saying that if that officer, who had refused

paid for arms, ammunition, and supplies for the expedition, I made it a point that all these claims should be paid before our departure. On this being refused, the expedition was still further delayed, and the Chinese authorities finally crushed it by withdrawing all the chartered steamers in so hurried a manner that there was not time to remove all the guns and stores on board. There was no intention on my part to deceive the Chinese Government in this matter; and I should have most assuredly carried out the plan except for the opposition and obstacles thrown in my way. So far from there being unanimity among the Chinese authorities, nothing has pleased the governor more than the failure of the expedition. He has long been jealous of the growing power of the force, and it is his avowed intention to crush it, or else put a Chinese officer in command, over whom he would have unlimited control. The misunderstanding between the Chinese and myself has been still further augmented by my refusal to allow them to form the plan of campaign. The force at the present time is in a very efficient state; the men are well armed and clothed, and under good discipline—the artillery particularly is in a splendid condition, both as regards men and guns. The cause of all those troubles has been the delay of the authorities to furnish the necessary funds. With reference to the notice in the paper of my dismissal, it was premature, as I had not received any official communication to that effect. As my commission proceeds from the Imperial Government at Pekin, I do not recognise the right of the local authorities to deprive me of the command without the sanction of the Emperor. In the meantime I only consider myself off duty until the decision from Pekin has been received. The printed notice could not have been worded in more offensive terms, and was evidently prepared with the intention of injuring me in the estimation of the public."

it at Ward's death, would not take it, he would leave Captain Holland in temporary command, and would recommend Captain Gordon, R.E., for the permanent command if the Government approved of an English officer taking it.

Colonel Forester refused to take the command, whereupon General Staveley and the Futai drew up and signed the agreement by which Captain Holland was placed in temporary command till the wishes of the Government could be known.

The terms of the agreement were that with the foreign commander there should be a Chinese mandarin; that the force should consist of 3000 men; that lavish expenditure and all interference with the civil authorities in the city should cease; that the public works which were in progress were to be stopped; and that no purchases of arms or ammunition should be made except by the authority of the Futai.[1]

[1] The following is the text of the agreement referred to, signed by General Staveley—

Art. 1. The force shall be placed temporarily under the joint command of Captain Holland, and Captain Gordon shall be recommended to Pekin as joint commander, and to regularly enter the Chinese service. The Futai appoints Futsiang, Le Heng Sung, to the joint command.

Art. 2. No expeditions shall be undertaken beyond the radius of thirty miles without previous discussion with the allies (England and France); but in reference to sudden expeditions within those limits their consent shall not be required.

Art. 3. A Chinese officer of the fourth or fifth grade shall be placed under the orders of the joint Commanders as Provost Marshal, to carry out such punishments as they shall order, who shall always be on the spot. Another officer of the same rank shall be appointed under their order to superintend the commissariat and pay off the force, who shall also be always on the spot. A third officer shall be appointed to take

Captain Holland having gone up with Woo, the ex-Taoutai, and Mr. Alabaster, the interpreter of Her Majesty's Consulate, found the foreign officers in a ferment at the new regulations, threatening to resign under a belief that their services were indispensable.

It was arranged that the Chinese civil authorities of the city should have the civil jurisdiction over the place which had been assumed by Ward and afterwards by Burgevine, and which had caused much hardship on the large population of this city by placing them at the mercy of the soldiery.

The men were to be kept in the city, and not allowed to go into the country looting the people; and the commander was requested to bear in mind

charge of the military stores, who shall report from time to time to the Futai.

Art. 4. Three good linguists shall be appointed permanently to the force.

Art. 5. The discipline and internal economy of the force shall be in the hands of the joint Commanders, and they shall be both present, in person or by deputy, at all issues of pay or rations to the force.

Art. 6. Orders on the Hae-quan Bank for six months' pay shall be issued twice every year, payable as due monthly, the amount to be settled when the standing of the force is arranged.

Art. 7. The strength of the force shall be 3000; but if the Custom-house receipts should fail, this number may be eventually reduced.

Art. 8. No foreign officer of the force shall be dismissed without a Mixed Court of Inquiry, the sentence of which must be confirmed by the Futai, and which sentence cannot be reversed without the concurrence of the British General. No officer shall be appointed to the force by the Chinese Commander without the concurrence of his British colleague.

Art. 9. The Commanders shall not interfere with the civil jurisdiction of Sungkiong and its suburbs.

Art. 10. The civil authorities shall carry out the wishes of the joint Commanders in all matters connected with the defence of the city; but no public works shall be undertaken without their consent.

Art. 11. No purchases of arms, ammunition, or military stores of any kind shall be made without the written consent of the Futai.

the Chinese nature of the force, and not to make it anti-Chinese while learning foreign discipline and drill, which it certainly was under Ward and Burgevine, and during the whole of its existence.

Li-ai-duy was made the Chinese joint commander with Captain Holland.

Colonel Forester resigned soon after this and left for America.

The Chung Wang left Nankin in November 1862, and marched by Hocheon to Sou-kiang (where he defeated the Imperialists) and Luhgan, where he arrived in December 1862, but hearing nothing of Ying Wang's troops, and finding the country a perfect desert, he returned towards Nankin, where Tseng kwoh tsuen had captured part of the rebel stockades at Yu-hua-ta.

Pauou Chiaou at the same time had advanced

Art. 12. The British Commander shall rank as equal with the Chentae or Futai, and shall be given a proper designation corresponding thereto, but shall be under the orders of the Futai.

Art. 13. The British Commander is only to leave the force (if at his own request) with the consent of the British Commander-in-Chief, obtained and signified through the Consul. If the Chinese are dissatisfied with the Commander, they shall not dismiss him without a judicial inquiry (in which the Consul shall take part), and due notice to the British Commander-in-Chief. In either case three months' notice must be given. All subordinate officers are to be appointed at the discretion of the joint Commanders, due regard being paid to the 8th Article.

Art. 14. That the number of coolies employed by the force shall be reduced, 100 per 1000 soldiers only being allowed, and their pay put on the footing of those employed in the Futai's camp, viz. three taels per mensem.

Art. 15. That the hospital expenses be reduced; the force to be put, as regards sickness, wounds, etc., on the same footing as other Chinese troops.

Art. 16. That the foreign officers of the force shall receive certain pay, but no extra allowances.

and taken Yonhonei, and had driven the rebels back on Hocheon.

Chung Wang had a bad time of it, for the roads were inundated, and he had barely time to get to Chin-fu-chin before Pauou Chiaou took Hocheon and Pukiou. He crossed the river with difficulty, and returned to Nankin in January 1863, where the Tien Wang was most indignant with him for his ill success.

Tseng kwoh tsuen took the remainder of the rebel stockades at Yu-hua-ta, having worked his way round them by a series of stockades and breastworks joining one another. The Imperialist forces now at Nankin were some 100,000 men.

The Eastern Pillar and Taeping had been retaken, as well as all the towns in Angwhui north of the river, the only place the rebels held on that bank being Chin-fu-chin, a strong fort opposite to Nankin.

Tso, Futai of Che-kiang, had also captured Kin-hoa and the rebels of Che-kiang, who had been driven out of Ningpo. Yuyaon-di had fallen back on Shou-shing, Hangchow, Yuyhon, and Fuyang.

The Tien Wang was most severe on Chung Wang, who wanted him to vacate the city and return elsewhere. He answered that he had received orders from God and Jesus to rule the earth; that he had no fear. The Empire he held with an iron grasp, the heavenly troops were more numerous than water, and that he did not fear the demon Tseng, and that if Chung Wang wished to go he could do so.

The Tien Wang, however, sent him a robe after this to console him, and allowed him to go to Souchow to organise a force to raise the siege of Nankin.

He arrived at Souchow on the 4th February 1863, and received the intelligence that Chanzu, a large town forty miles north-west of Souchow, and twelve miles from the Yangtze river, had offered on the 28th January 1863 to surrender to Li, Futai of Kiangsoo, and the people of the small town of Fushan, which is situated on the creek leading from the Yangtze to Chanzu, had shaved their heads; that Mow Wang had despatched a force against the city, and had retaken Fushan, which was then attacked by the Imperialists, who were endeavouring to communicate with Chanzu, and who had also some troops around Chanzu itself.

On the 1st February the Futai sent to Captain Holland to send some men up to retake Fushan. Accordingly a detachment of the Sungkiong force started for Fushan on the 5th February, consisting of the 5th Regiment and some artillery under Major Brennan, but they had no boats to land the men with, and on these being procured they landed. They could make no impression on the rebels, who were in great strength, although they had daily conflicts with them up to the 15th, when they were withdrawn in consequence of the defeat at Taitsan, about to be related.

It should have been mentioned that the Pekin

Government issued a decree of amnesty on the 19th January 1863 to the rebels if they would submit, which probably had its effect on the chief in Chanzu.

On the 4th February the Futai applied to General Staveley for permission to send the Sungkiong force under Captain Holland against Taitsan (the city which repulsed the attack of the Imperialists in May 1862), which was some sixteen miles from Kahding and thirty miles from Shanghai. General Staveley consented, and arrangements were made for the force to start.

The Futai was under the impression that on the approach of the force it would surrender, having had overtures from the chief Woo. The Futai had now some 8000 good troops under his brother and General Ching, which troops were strongly entrenched in positions along the country from Singpoo to Kahding.

On the 10th February the Sungkiong force, under Captain Holland, left Sungkiong, numbering 2300 men, of whom 600 were artillery, and the remainder infantry well armed and equipped; the artillery had—

2 eight-inch mortars.
4 thirty-two-pounder guns on travelling carriages.
4 five and a half-inch mortars.
10 twelve-pound howitzers.
2 four and two-fifth howitzers.

These were placed in boats, as there was a fine creek leading to Taitsan.

The infantry marched by Powokong, Wontzichow, Wekongtsen to within a mile of the south gate of Taitsan, where they arrived on the 13th February and were joined by the Imperialists under the Futai's brother and Ching. The rebels held a small stockade or earthwork near this spot, which it was necessary to take before the city could be reached. A fire was opened on this stockade for some time, when a party of Europeans who were with the force crossed over the creek a little lower down, on seeing which the rebels ran to the city.

That night the thirty-two-pounders were put in position, some 200 yards from the south gate, in spite of a sortie made on them by the rebels.

At daybreak reinforcements from Souchow were seen to enter the city, where they were greeted with great cheering from the garrison (these men had been sent up by Chung Wang, who had heard at Souchow of the intended attack on his arrival from Nankin).

The guns opened fire at 7 A.M. and continued till 11 A.M., when a practicable breach was found.

Holland now ordered the ladder party under Captain Graham to take up the ladders, which the men did with a cheer, this cheer was taken up by the assaulting columns, who thought it was the signal to advance: they charged up towards the breach.

About forty yards from the wall the whole

column was brought up by a wet ditch some twenty feet wide and six feet deep, and in the absence of bridges got huddled together and thrown into confusion, which being perceived by the rebels, they manned the breach and fired volley after volley into the mass, which told fearfully.

A few officers having with some men crossed by a ladder were killed or wounded.

The men then retired, after having done their best. Just at this time a panic seized the flotilla and the boatmen began to run, which dispirited the men much more. It was now obvious that the place could not be carried, so Captain Holland determined on a retreat, and unfortunately moved the light guns first into the boats.

When they came to try and move the thirty-two-pounder guns they found that the wheels of two of them were so deeply embedded in the soft ground by recoil that they could not move them, although 200 men were put on the ropes. The rebels all this time kept up the most tremendous fire, which obliged the Sungkiong soldiers to desist and abandon the guns and retire.

Considerable confusion existed, and it was a happy thing no more guns were lost. The rebels made a sortie from the east gate, but were driven back by the Imperialists, while another body rushed down the breach and captured the guns.

The broken remnants of the Ever Victorious Army now retreated to Wekongtsen, and thence

to Sungkiong, where they arrived in small detached bodies on the 16th February 1863. The loss was very heavy. Captains Macarthy, Maunder, and Macleod were killed on the breach with two or three of their men (their heads were cut off and sent in with one of the Sungkiong soldiers, the Chanzu which was beleaguered, to show the chief of that place that they had repulsed the attack). Captain Bosworth was killed near the guns, and Captains Tapp, commanding the artillery, Murray (who afterwards died), Silverthorn, and Dunn, and twelve other officers were wounded. Four marines were also wounded (these men had accompanied Captain Holland as a bodyguard); about thirty Chinese were killed and 260 wounded.[1]

[1] How the rebels exulted over this defeat may be judged by the tone adopted by one of their chiefs when recording these events—

"Oh, how we laughed, on the morning of the assault," he says, "as they advanced nearer to the creek which they brought no bridges to throw over! how we laughed as we saw the ladder they had thrown over getting weaker and weaker beneath them, and at last fall into the creek, leaving half the party on one side, and half on the other. 'What general is he,' cried our chief, 'who sends his men to storm a city without first ascertaining that there is a moat?'—'And what general is he,' cried another of our leaders, 'who allows a storming party to advance without bridges? See, O chief, these unfortunates!'

"So we laughed, and so we jested, as we saw the slaves of the Tartar usurper advancing to destruction. But our chief was wroth when he saw the handful of men who had come out against him. 'Do they think we are cowards, even as the impish soldiers of the mandarins,' cried he, 'that they thus dare to bring out hundreds against our thousands?'—'Not so, O chief,' replied a valiant captain, 'but they have forgotten that they had foreigners to aid them at Kahding and Najaor, Cholin and Wongka, and other places in the neighbourhood of Shanghai.' Loud and long was the laughter of our leader as the idea burst upon him; but his laughter soon changed to wrath at the presumption. 'Arise,' cried he, 'O inheritors of eternal peace; arise and drive these imps from the face of our land.' And

The officers and men fought most bravely, and showed great devotion, and it was owing to the good front made by the rifles under Major Cook that prevented the defeat being a rout. The sergeant-major of the rifles, a Chinaman, showed great bravery; he had Ward's flag, and though he

we arose at his word as one man; the cry of 'Blood!' was in our mouths, and the thirst for blood consumed us; we sallied forth on the 'Ever Victorious' troops, and behold, they retired so soon as they saw the brandishing of our spears. Many fled, flinging away their arms in their haste; their ammunition and their belts also they cast upon the ground in their fear. The impish followers of the mandarins set them the example, and many followed it. Little cared they for bridges in their haste; they scattered themselves over the face of the country, and we pursued them as they fled. There were English officers too. O recorder of events, how they ran! One of them flung away his pistol and his sword, and swam the creek in his haste. Another also lost his sword, which the Sungkiong men picked up, and, I am told, have it now in Sungkiong. But they needed not. We know the policy of your nation — not to attack us beyond the thirty mile boundary, and we should not have hurt them, knowing that they only came to witness our prowess. We know likewise full well that the English *Chuntae* did wrong in overstepping the boundary, but he has suffered for it; let him rest. We thank him for the thirty-two-pounders which he has left in our hands; and we will keep them as a memento of our victory, and will mount them on our walls as a warning to the troops of Sungkiong never again to attack us in our stronghold. I will be just, though, and true. Many of the Sungkiong men fought bravely, and their officers as heroes. They tried long to carry off their two guns, but could not stand our fire. Mightily were we surprised, O recorder of events, at the conduct of the English Chuntae. Can you believe it, O recorder of events? he removed the smaller guns first, instead of leaving them to the last to protect the removal of the big ones. Then, too, were we surprised to see him leading the retreat in his boat. We know that such is the practice of the impish mandarins; but we thought that English officers always sought the post of danger. We thought, truly, that he would have brought up the rear, instead of leaving it to his second in command.

"We retired before the face of the foreigners, because we know their might; we withdrew beyond the line which they had chalked out, and we will not transgress beyond it; but the country we possess will we hold, and scatter to the four winds of heaven any impish fiends who come against us. Let not the mandarin slaves think that in their

received six bullets through his clothes, he would not return till ordered back.

The causes of the failure were the too cheap rate at which the rebels were held. The force had hitherto fought (except at Singpoo) with the allies with them; they now had to bear the brunt of the fighting themselves, the mistake of not having provided bridges in spite of the mandarins' information, and the too close proximity of the heavy guns to the walls, and the want of cover they had, and finally the withdrawal of the lighter guns before the heavy guns, whose removal they should have covered.

There is little doubt that the rebels had been warned by persons in Shanghai of the intended attack, and that several foreigners were with the rebels defending the breach who had been dismissed from the force by Captain Holland. As may be imagined, Burgevine's removal had caused considerable feeling among his acquaintances, who were not sorry to see the first expedition of the force under an English officer fail, being in hopes that the command would again revert to Burgevine, who had been successful at Powokong.

service alone are foreigners employed, and that they alone reap the benefit of their warlike experience. Numbers of them have acknowledged the supremacy of our heavenly king, and joined us in our efforts to make great peace prevail. Many were in Taitsan, and a Frenchman pointed the gun which carried death into the ranks of our foes. O recorder of events, we, too, have disciplined troops; and we, too, have European firearms, as the imps found to their cost. They have essayed our might, and have experienced the strength of our arm. Let them rest in Sungkiong. They thought they could take Nankin, but they failed before Taitsan."

Captain Holland throughout the whole operations exposed himself to a very heavy fire, and it is a wonder he escaped.

Chung Wang arrived the same evening, and rewarded the men who had taken the guns with 100 taels each. He left again on the 16th February for Chanzu with the two thirty-two-pounders, and with which he attempted to breach the walls, but one of the guns burst, owing to the shot not fitting, and the other was sent to Souchow, where it was re-captured in December 1863.

IV

THE expedition under Major Brennan returned to Shanghai on the 15th February, having failed in taking Fushan.

These two defeats following on the Burgevine troubles made the Futai very inimical to the force, and the feeling was fomented by Ching and the Imperialist leaders.

On the very day of Captain Holland's defeat a despatch arrived from Sir Frederick Bruce sanctioning the placing of a British officer in command of the Sungkiong force if it was found necessary, and consequently General Staveley decided on placing Captain, now Brevet-Major, Gordon, R.E., in command, when that officer, who, with several others, was surveying the country enclosed in the thirty miles' radius, had finished the same.

Captain Holland had taken the command but temporarily, and on the understanding that Major Gordon was to take it if the Government approved of a British officer holding it.

Burgevine went up to Pekin to lay his case before the Ministers on the 20th February.

Arms were now being supplied to the rebels in great numbers, and in this traffic scarcely any hindrance was made.

On the 12th March 1863 the Futai again wished that an expedition should be sent from Sungkiong against Fushan, for the garrison of Chanzu was hard pressed, and till that former place was taken the Imperialists could afford no succour. They made repeated attempts to take it, but had been repulsed with loss.

Accordingly Major Tapp, commanding the artillery, with 600 men and four twelve-pounder howitzers, was sent up on the 16th March. They landed near Fushan on the 20th, and opened fire on the rebels' works on the 22d. They then assaulted, but owing to defective arrangements with respect to the bridges over the wet ditch, were repulsed with loss, one officer being killed and one wounded, with eight or ten men killed and twenty wounded.

Major Tapp sent down to Sungkiong for more ammunition and men, and held on to the village of Fushan in spite of the rebels, who attacked him several times.

General Staveley now returned to Shanghai, and Major Gordon's survey being completed, that officer was put in orders on the 26th March to command the force.

It is necessary to return to Ningpo, where in the beginning of February the Franco-Chinese force, some 1200 men under Lieutenant Le Breton, I.N.,

and Major Cook with 800 men, late of the Sung-kiong force (who were now separated from that force and paid from Ningpo), started to attack Shoushing.

They reached the city on the 19th February, and in the attack on some stockades Le Breton was killed by the bursting of a gun. The command of the Franco-Chinese now devolved on Captain Tardif, late of the Imperial Artillery.

Captain Dew came down with some men of the *Encounter* and an eight-inch howitzer, which was lent to the disciplined Chinese, and soon made a breach. An assault was ordered, but through some mistake with the bridges and the death of Captain Tardif, who was killed close to the breach, the attack was repulsed with the loss of ten killed and seventy wounded, Lieutenant Tenbey, R.N., of the *Encounter*, unfortunately being mortally wounded.

The command of the Franco-Chinese now devolved on Lieutenant D'Aiquebelle, I.N., and Captain Dew disposed the forces to cut off the rebel retreat and to force a surrender.

Ling Wang commanded in the city and made frequent sorties on the besiegers. (He was afterwards beheaded at Souchow in December 1863.) He sent out offering money if the troops would retire, but seeing they would not, and that he could not drive them away, he vacated the city, passing through the Franco-Chinese, and fell on Hangchow

on the 28th March. The Franco-Chinese occupied it, and the Anglo-Chinese were sent back to Ningpo, where Cook was made colonel and put in charge of them.

Shoushan, a city a few miles from it, and situated on the opposite side of the river Chentang to Hangchow, was vacated on the 21st March.

Tso, the late Futai of Che-kiang, and now Chetai or Governor-General of Fukien and Che-kiang, was now beleaguering Fuyang and Yuhung with a large force of Imperialists, which cities were as outposts to Hangchow.

General Staveley had resigned the command in China from ill health, and his successor, General Brown, had arrived at Shanghai on the 31st March.

The rebels on the 31st March were beleaguering Chanzu under Chung Wang, and defending Fushan from the attacks of the Imperialists in Che-kiang; the She Wang was blockaded in Fuyung, and Nankin was partially surrounded by Tseng kwoh tsuen, who with 80,000 men was strongly entrenched close to the south gate.

On the 25th March we rode up to Sungkiong with Major Gordon, who went to take up the command of the force from Captain Holland. It was somewhat doubtful what sort of reception that officer might receive from the officers and men, as it had been industriously rumoured that they would have no one but Burgevine. However, we arrived and took up our quarters in safety in the Headquarters

House, and the next day Major Gordon assembled the officers and non-commissioned officers, told them plainly that they might fear no sweeping changes, or anything that might injure their future prospects, etc. etc. This had the desired effect, and the threatened outbreak did not take place.

That evening a despatch came from the Futai of the province, requesting Major Gordon to take more troops, and to proceed himself at once to Fushan. General Li, a mandarin in joint command of the force with Major Gordon, also came in from Fushan. The expedition under Major Tapp had failed to reduce the place, and the city of Chanzu was in great danger of being closely pressed by the rebels. Accordingly Major Gordon started at once for Shanghai to get extra ammunition, and that night (28th March) the Sungkingfu or chief magistrate foolishly beheaded two soldiers for some offence; the execution by night was illegal, and the men resenting it went in a body and plundered the magistrate's house; they were, however, soon quieted, and on the return of Major Gordon, the 5th Regiment and some extra artillery were embarked on board the *Confucius* and *Zingari* steamers, and we started for Fushan on 31st March.

On arrival at that place, on the 2d April, we found the Imperialists strongly stockaded on the beach and on some isolated hills which rise abruptly from the plains. The two rebel stockades of Fushan were situated on the banks of a creek which runs from

Chanzu to the Yangtze, and were some three miles from the latter and ten miles from the former place. They did not appear strong; but there were heavy masses of rebels in rear and on each flank. The expeditionary force of Major Tapp was posted 800 yards from the rebels, and a short time before our arrival had a skirmish with the rebels and drove them back.

The day after our arrival (3d April) a thirty-two-pounder was brought up from the river by the creek, much to the horror of the Imperialists, who expected the rebels to attack us during the operation. This gun was placed in a commanding position on the wall of the old town of Fushan during the night, and at 9 A.M. on the 4th April we opened fire from four twelve-pounders and the thirty-two-pounder. The rebels answered feebly, and by degrees dropped off firing; they, however, reinforced the stockades from the rear. The thirty-two-pounder continued to bring down the wall of the stockade in masses, and after three-quarters of an hour, on the advance being sounded, the rebels left and the troops poured in. Our loss was two killed and six wounded. The rebels made a feeble effort to return; but with the exception of wounding a gallant officer, Captain Belcher of the 5th Regiment, who died from his wound some four months after, did us no harm. The stockades were held that night, and communication opened with Chanzu through spies.

The next day there were no rebels to be seen; they had left during the night. We walked on, therefore, to Chanzu, over a good road, which ran parallel to the creek before alluded to. The rebels had constructed three rows of stockades at intervals along this road which they had vacated. About half way to Chanzu we passed a dreadful sight. Near a large joss-house were thirty-five Imperialist soldiers crucified in different ways. They had been burnt in various places before death. On inquiry we found that they were the crew of some gunboats that had been wrecked previous to our arrival, and had been taken prisoners by the rebels.

We walked on to Chanzu, and at the north gate met Lin, a Chinese mandarin, who had been most prominent in the negotiation with the Chinese people; he had formerly been a rebel himself. He looked much astonished at seeing us, and came back to the city with us. On every side were marks of the besieging army—scaling ladders, etc. etc., lying about, and a complete line of breastworks surrounding the city. We went up to Sute's (the chief) house and found him surrounded by several young, intelligent-looking men; these were the rebel chiefs.

He received Major Gordon with marked pleasure, and thanked him, evidently sincerely, for his efforts. He and his officers were dressed plainly in silk. He was evidently held in great respect. We gathered that he (Sute) had meditated coming over in December, but owing to his second in command not being

willing, he was obliged to wait his opportunity, which occurred when his second went to Souchow on the 31st December, it is thought with the intention of making known his doubts to Mow Wang, the chief of that city. Accordingly that night they all shaved their heads,[1] and the stockade at Fushan did likewise; they then sent a messenger to the Futai, who induced a military mandarin, Chew, to go up and see if it was all right. Chew went up, and after some delay, owing to his fears, entered the city, which he had no sooner done than Chung Wang and a large force came down and, causing the garrison of Fushan to run away, surrounded the city. For two months the rebels tried all means to take it—by assault, by surprise, etc. etc. In one assault Chew, the only Imperialist, lost his eye by an arrow.

Sute had had a hard time of it, for Chung Wang offered any terms to the soldiers if they would come over and give up the city. He brought the two thirty-two-pounders which had been taken at Taitsan against the place, and partially breached it in one part. He sent in a soldier of the force with the heads of the three European officers who had been killed at Taitsan, to tell the garrison that he had defeated the attempt on that city. We found this soldier in the place, who rejoined his regiment soon after. Sute had done a good deal of beheading to keep the garrison staunch; but his anxiety must have been

[1] The ceremony of shaving their heads was intended as a proof of their complete surrender.

terrible when he heard of our repeated failures to take Fushan. There were two Frenchmen in the garrison, but we did not see them. The city had a garrison of 8000 men, but they were deficient of powder, and another fortnight would have compelled an evacuation or surrender.

Chanzu is a large city on this side of the Munhead hills, some 700 feet high, which rise abruptly from the plains. Its wall runs partly up the side of the hill, and to cover against an attack on that side there is a strong stone fort on the apex. The soldiers had lived during the whole siege on the walls; they seemed a fine body of men, and were well clothed. We left Sute that night and returned to Fushan, meeting on our way a party of soldiers carrying in at dusk twenty or thirty mandarin hats, etc., for the new adherents, and embarking for Sungkiong on the 7th April.[1]

[1] A letter, which throws much light on the impression produced among the Chinese by these successes of Gordon, was addressed by the Futai, Li Hung Chung, to Consul Markham. The Futai says: "The officer Gordon having received command of the Ever Victorious Army, having immediately on doing so proceeded to Fushan, working day and night, having worked harmoniously with the other generals there, having exerted himself and attacked with success the walled city, and relieved Chanzu, and at once returned to Sungkiong and organised his force for further operations to sweep out the rebels, having proved himself valiant, able, and honest, I have congratulated myself, and memorialised His Imperial Majesty to confer on him the dignity and office of Tsung-ping, to enable me to consider him as part of my command.

"This memorial I sent up on the 25th day of the second moon. On the 5th of the third moon I received a letter from the Tsung-li-yamun that during the second moon Burgevine had taken on himself to enter Pekin, and proceed surreptitiously to the American Legation; that while they were taking steps on this they received a number of letters

Fushan had been long a nest of pirates, and it had been often contemplated to attack it by the navy, but owing to its being so far inland from the Yangtze

from the American Minister to the effect that Burgevine repented him. They also received a strong letter from the English Minister in his favour; that in their opinion Burgevine should be dealt with according to law for striking a mandarin, and taking forcible possession of public monies; but as he was guaranteed by the English and American Ministers, had already expressed contrition for his fault, and had proceeded to Shanghai to be dealt with by the chief military authorities of the province, they thought perhaps the rule might be departed from and an opportunity given him to turn over a new leaf, and they had, therefore, sent an officer to accompany him to Shanghai for the Futai to do what he thought best; that if Burgevine did really proceed to Shanghai, and expressed contrition for his offence, the Futai might decide on the line to be taken.

"Now, had a Chinaman committed the offence of which Burgevine has been guilty, he would long ere this have been seized and severely punished; but, perhaps, being a foreigner, he did not fully understand Chinese customs, and he has in days gone by exerted himself in our service and received a wound. As he has represented this at Pekin, and the various foreign Ministers have spoken strongly in his favour, and as the Tsung-li-yamun have written leaving the decision to me, and not distinctly ordered me to give him the command of the force should he repent him, and acknowledge his fault, I must change my course with regard to him, and not cut off entirely his chance of repairing his fault.

"But with regard to the Ward force, as when Burgevine had the command, there was no regularity about its expenses, as he allowed it to be disorderly and mutinous, disobedient to orders, and a pest to mandarins and people; as he gave no account of the manner in which he expended the 90,000 taels which Takee had got together for the Nankin expedition, and which he took thence; and as he made up claims for over 300,000 taels of debts, causing Taoutais Woo and Yang to be degraded and involved, so that to this moment they had been unable to extricate themselves, I cannot give him command of the force, again to increase vain expenses and suffer future difficulties.

"Again, since Gordon has taken the command he has exerted to himself to organise the force, and though he has had but one month, has got the force into shape. As the people and place are charmed with him, as he has already given me returns of the organisation of the force, the formation of each regiment, and the expenses, ordinary and extraordinary, in the clearest manner, wishing to drill our troops, and save our money, it is evident that he fully comprehends the state

it was too great a risk to attack it except with a land force. We found several ten-inch shells in the stockade, which had been fired by our gunboats, and a large cargo boat, with "O. and Co." on it (Oliphant and Co.) This formed one of four which had been captured when coming down from Hankow, the Europeans being murdered. It was also a great port for arms.

On arriving at Sungkiong, on the 10th April, although our labours in the field for a short time were over, there was much to be done. The men

of affairs, and in the expedition he is preparing his men delightedly obeyed him and preserved proper order. I cannot therefore remove him without cause.

"As, moreover, should the report be spread about that Burgevine has come back to Shanghai to resume the command, the various officers and petty officers will be insulted, and the service will suffer, I feel it right to make the letter I have received from the Tsung-li-yamun public, together with my intentions with regard to it, that both Gordon may be fully satisfied as to his position, and the officers may pay no attention to idle reports.

"I have therefore forwarded you herewith a copy of my memorial to the Emperor, and beg you to tell Gordon to feel every confidence, to organise the force jointly with his Chinese colleague, to look for orders to me only, to pay no attention to rumours, and to relax in consequence; and should any of the officers who were in the force in Burgevine's time, and who have since been dismissed, spread idle reports in Sungkiong, or stir up doubts and plots in Shanghai, causing the men to get disturbed and mutinous, I have written to the general to assist him to seize and deport them, that discipline may be maintained. The Tsung-li-yamun has, in referring Burgevine's case to me, shown extraordinary regard for foreigners, and I myself have no desire to show favour to one to the disadvantage of another, at one time severe and at another lenient, but look merely to what is best for the armies, and least dangerous to the State. And as Gordon carries on his duties well, I cannot displace him. Should he not do so hereafter, I will then consider what is to be done. I have therefore made up my mind, and besides replying to the Tsung-li-yamun memorialising His Majesty to settle the case, and instructing Major Gordon of my decision, I write to inform you, and trust you will give him similar instructions."

had been allowed to do what they liked. That a regiment 500 strong should have 120 or so absent without leave at a parade was a trifle, and the consequence was that the force had begun to get a bad name. This was speedily put a stop to, and the punishment of offenders, which, strange to say, used to be vested in the officer commanding the force alone, was handed over, under certain restrictions, to the officers commanding regiments. At the same time, as the force was being reorganised, preparations were being made to attack Quinsan, a town twenty miles from Souchow and ten miles from Taitsan. It was now firmly believed that Taitsan would come over, and therefore the Futai wished for the attack on Quinsan to take place about the time of its defection.

An important event occurred just three days before the departure of the expedition. General Burgevine arrived from Pekin with an Imperial Commissioner, who brought instructions to the Futai to reinstate him in the command. The Futai, however, refused to do so, and General Burgevine was answered by the English general on his application to be put in command of the force, that Major Gordon would be relieved if the Futai expressed a wish to that effect, and not otherwise. It was as well that General Burgevine arrived so soon before the departure of the expedition to Taitsan, for, from various circumstances which transpired afterwards, it would seem that several officers were warned not

to accompany the expedition under Captain Holland against that place, and there is little doubt that a party of foreigners left Shanghai for the express purpose of repulsing that attack.

On the 24th of April the whole force left Sungkiong for Quinsan, and arrived at Lokapan on the 26th, the heavy artillery and the steamer *Hyson* proceeding by Singpoo, where they were much delayed in getting the steamer through the bridges, several of which had to be pulled down. The steamer *Hyson* deserves some mention. She is a paddle-wheel vessel, sixty feet long and twenty-four broad, drawing three feet six inches water, and carrying a thirty-two-pounder in the bow and a twelve-pounder at her stern. She possesses the faculty of moving over the bed of a creek on her wheels if there is a deficiency of water; and no barrier of sunken junks or stakes are strong enough to resist her powers when applied, either in going full speed at them, or else dragging them away.

The force halted at Lokapan (to enable the artillery to come up) the whole of the 27th, and an important courier came in that morning from General Ching, who was stockaded at Wontzejow. He wrote to say that the Futai's brother, who had held Kahding, had received overtures from "Sah," now Wai Wang, the chief of Taitsan, who wished to come over; that the Futai's brother had accordingly moved his camps up close to the town; and that the different chiefs had had frequent meetings and

interchange of presents, etc.; that they had agreed to give over the city on the day we had halted at Lokapan; and that, accordingly, Santagen, the Futai's brother, had advanced his men towards the south gate. The head of the column entered the city, and one gun was fired, when troops poured out from the east and west gates and wrapped round the Imperialists, who, thus attacked, lost upwards of 1500 men killed and taken prisoners, and the whole of their camps, etc. The Futai's brother was stabbed in the back, and escaped over a creek with difficulty. Under these circumstances General Ching wrote to say he could do nothing against Quinsan. Major Gordon consulted with Mandarin Li, and the next day (28th of April) marched across country to Wontzejow, where General Ching met the force.

The next day (the 29th of April) the force marched to the small stockade at the south gate of Taitsan, which was close to the scene of the late treachery. The rebels held the stockade, but evacuated it on Captain Kirkham advancing with one company at dusk. The next day (30th) the force halted, owing to the bad weather. On the 1st of May, at daybreak—it having been determined not to attack the south gate—the force moved off to the west gate, where the rebels had two strong stone stockades, and halted some 1500 yards from them. The rebels during this move were very daring, and came out of the city boldly. The ground having been reconnoitred, half the force were landed on the right bank, and

half on the left bank, and two eight-inch howitzers brought to bear on the stockade. After twenty minutes' firing three companies were despatched round the left flank of the stockade, between it and the city, to cut off reinforcements coming from the town. As soon as this party assumed a threatening position the rebels left the stockades. The troops pursued them up to the west gate, and for two or three miles towards Quinsan.

Three large brass twelve-pounder guns, lately cast, were found in the stockade, or rather stone fort, which was very well built, with flanks, etc. The other stockade was not quite finished. The rebels, just before their evacuation, had executed two blue-button Imperial mandarins, who had been taken prisoners a few days previous. The force encamped close to the stockades, and, with the exception of one volley the rebels fired into the boats, which caused some confusion, the night passed quietly.

The next day (2d of May) at 9 A.M. Major Gordon went off towards the north gate with the first regiment, and placed them in position to cut off the rebel retreat in that direction, and to prevent them receiving further reinforcements from Souchow, which we heard they were expecting. At noon, on his return, the troops had fallen in, and the rifles pushed out in skirmishing order towards the town. An eight-inch howitzer was landed, and soon silenced a troublesome gun of the rebels which bore direct

down the creek. When this gun was silenced the heavy artillery boats moved up, and the guns were landed, and got into position in succession. The rebel musketry fire was good and well sustained, but the ruined houses of the suburb afforded good cover. The heavy guns began to make a good show on the wall, but the rebels still kept up a well sustained fire.

About 5 P.M. the guns had been advanced to about within 200 yards of the wall, and the breach appeared practicable. The gunboats for the formation of the bridge were then pushed up by the creek leading into the ditch, and the 2d and 3d Regiments advanced to the attack. The rebels now moved steadily down to the breach, and waved their flags in defiance. They used flags which had been captured from the Futai's brother's troops. They showered down light-balls and stink-pots into the boats forming the bridge, and kept up a tremendous fire, which caused the troops to hesitate about crossing. This lasted for fully ten minutes, our losses being very heavy. Some few crossed over and remained on the other side, at the foot of the breach, where they were comparatively safe.

At last the 5th Regiment, under Major (now Colonel) Brennan, advanced, and Captain Schinkoff's company managed to plant the colours of the regiment on the top of the wall. The rebels then gave way—the snake flags, denoting the head chief, having left on the advance of the 5th Regiment. Had it not been for the eight-inch howitzers playing over the

heads of the stormers, and mowing down the rebels on the breach, at 200 yards distance, it is doubtful if the assault could have been made in face of such a fire as the enemy kept up. On the breach were three men of the 22d Native Infantry, who had been taken, with a twelve-pounder howitzer, at Naizean in May 1862; two Americans, one of whom had been five or six years with them; and two Frenchmen. These were all killed either after the capture or during the attack. The rebels retreated by the east gate.

In the city Private Hargreaves of the 31st Regiment was found. He was seriously wounded by a splinter in the head. He had deserted with two comrades from the 31st Regiment about six weeks before, and did not say much for the treatment he had received. He said that the Europeans had told Sah, the head chief, that it was useless to contend; but that Sah had brought out a bag of dollars and divided it among them just previous to the attack. All these men had gold medals, which had been given them for their repulsing the attack made by Captain Holland. These medals were thin plates of gold, about the size of the palm of one's hand, with the heavenly kingdom stamped on them. The head chief had been devoting his time to field artillery, and had some fair carriages making in his house. Sah was himself wounded in the head. He was a fine brave man, twenty-eight years old. There we found the chin-chin cards of the Futai and his subordinates, and also a large number of mandarin hats, which

had been sent in before the treachery. The troops got a large number of boats. Our loss was very heavy, viz. Captain Bannon, 4th Regiment, killed, and Major Murant wounded; also Captain Chapman, Captain Chidwick, Captain Ludlam, Captain Robinson, and Captain Williams, Rank and file, 20 killed and 142 wounded.

We released 300 prisoners who were imprisoned in a house belonging to the Futai's brother's troops, who had been taken a few days previous; and in Sah's house Captain Davidson of the *Hyson* found two blue-button mandarins tied up in a side-room.

The *Hyson* steamer managed to get through the bridges on the morning of the attack, and, guided by a hand sketch, she steamed up not 1500 yards from the walls of Quinsan, and arrived at Taitsan at 2 P.M. When passing Quinsan a large body of rebels were passing along the road from Taitsan—probably those who had been driven from the stockades the day before, or else a reinforcement disappointed of getting into the city. The *Hyson* opened fire on them, and drove them in confusion into the city of Quinsan, killing the chief's horse. She then steamed on to Taitsan, and midway came across a stockade about 200 yards from the bank, which, being intensely surprised, was vacated after the third shell, but was not entered, as Captain Davidson was anxious to get up to Taitsan, where the heavy firing denoted an attack being in progress.

The troops halted at Taitsan the next day, and proceeded at daybreak on the 4th to Quinsan, where they encamped at the east gate, some 1200 yards from the wall. The rebels vacated the city of Lekin, a small walled place near Taitsan.

Over the east gate of Quinsan was an eighteen-pounder gun, English make, and which, together with one at the south gate, had been lost by General Ward at Singpoo in 1861. The rebels, aided by an European, fired eighteen-pounder shot, coated with lead, with great precision from this gun.

General Ching arrived at Quinsan the day after (5th of May), and Major Gordon, not liking the look of the east face of the city, moved to the south gate; but this looked as unpromising. The troops, encumbered with boats, etc., were leaving daily for Sungkiong; and at last Major Gordon determined on going back to refit and get more ammunition. He accordingly did so on the 8th of May, and left the *Hyson* steamer for the protection of General Ching's forces, which were stockaded near the camping-ground, off the east gate. It had been a practice in the force since its formation to dissolve after the capture of any place for a time, to allow men to dispose of their rubbish; and this attempt of Major Gordon's, therefore, was quite an innovation on the ordinary rules, and not at all appreciated. The soldiers had hitherto had their own way to a great extent: they resisted anything they took a dislike

to by not falling in, and would condescend to do no work. General Ward had even coolies to clean their arms for them; and the idea of carrying their rations was thought quite derogatory to their dignity. The force returned on the 10th of May, and marched into Sungkiong in something like a body. This was the first time they had ever done so.

The work of organisation and preparation for an attack on Quinsan went on simultaneously. As the experience of the last expedition had shown the necessity of some officer of rank being put over the Commissariat and Military Stores Department, Major Gordon selected Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General Cookesley, a capital officer, and gave him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, in order that he might speak with authority to the majors commanding the different regiments, who were rather apt to be troublesome when the rations were issued.

This caused, on the afternoon of the day previous to the march (24th May), an explosion which might have had serious results. About 3 P.M. the whole of the majors sent in a note requesting an interview with Major Gordon, which being acceded to, they stated their grievance, which was, that an English officer had been placed over them, and that they did not see why they should not receive the same rank and pay as he did. Major Gordon told them that they had nothing to complain of, that the appointment he had made

would in no way interfere with their commands, and that he neither felt inclined to rescind the appointment nor to grant their claims.

They then retired, and soon after their resignations came in in a bundle, with a letter requesting that their resignations might be accepted at once, but that they might serve on the approaching expedition. Their resignations were at once accepted, and their requests refused. This occurred on Sunday night, and the force was to march at daybreak the next day. At 8 A.M., 25th May, the bodyguard alone had fallen in, and the officers came to report that none of the men would do so. The bodyguard was marched off to Quinsan by itself, and the interpreters and non-commissioned officers of the 1st Regiment were seized, as, in all these "non-fallings-in," the strange part was that there never was a non-commissioned officer absent, evidently showing that they had prompted the men. The seizure of the above men, and their being chained, produced a commotion, and then came a letter or so to request permission to withdraw the resignation of some of the commanding officers. Two were allowed to do so; and in the meantime, the men having been told that a roll would be called half way to the first halting-place that afternoon, and that any man being absent from it would be dismissed, they swarmed out, and that evening were all assembled as if nothing had happened.

However, this sort of proceeding would never

do, and Major Gordon determined on not returning to Sungkiong, as the preliminary step to breaking them in. Sungkiong was full of the old men of Ward's time, who looked on any innovation with disgust, and incited the men to mutiny. No reform could be carried out there; it needed a city some way off, where the force would be quite supreme, and, in fact, the only inhabitants. This revolt of the majors was the last united attempt to interfere with the commander. It arose from ignorance, and an opinion that their services were invaluable. No one regretted it more than the men engaged, who thus unthinkingly ran the risk of causing a large amount of bloodshed, and also the dissolution of the force.

The force arrived at their old camping-ground near the east gate of Quinsan on the evening of the 27th May. General Ching had established some five or six very strong stockades at this place, and, thanks to the steamer *Hyson*, was enabled to hold them against repeated attacks of the rebels, who now desisting from direct attack, contented themselves with establishing a line of stockades on his right flank, so as to prevent him turning on the city or to the north, neither of which, however, General Ching had any intention of doing. He considered himself lucky to be able to hold his stockades. The lines of rebel stockades were not more than 800 yards from his position.

The force encamped near the stockades, and at

daybreak, 28th May, the 4th and 5th Regiments, with the field artillery, moved to attack them. The right stockade was attacked in front and its right flank turned, on seeing which the rebels retreated. They were in large force, and, had it not been for the numerous bridges they had constructed in their rear, they would have suffered much, as the pursuit was pressed beyond the north gate, close up to a stockade they held at the north-west angle of the city. Captain Clayton, 99th Regiment, a very gallant officer, who had gained the goodwill and admiration of every one of the force, was unfortunately wounded in the attack, and died some months afterwards of his wounds. Our loss was two killed and sixteen wounded.

General Ching was now most anxious to get Major Gordon to attack the east gate on the following day. His object was that he had written to the Futai, who had sent on to Pekin to say that he had his stockades on the edge of the ditch and merely wanted a boat to get into the city. This he showed by a plan. The east gate looked, if possible, more unpromising than it did before, and Major Gordon declined to attack it without reconnoitring the other side of the city. Accordingly the next day (29th May) he went in the *Hyson* with Generals Ching and Li to reconnoitre the west side, and after three hours' steaming came within 1000 yards of the main canal, which runs from the west gate of Quinsan to Souchow.

At the junction of the creek we came up with this main canal in the village of Chumye. This place is eight miles from Quinsan and twelve from Souchow. The only road between these two places runs along the bank of the creek. The rebels had here, on the bank of the creek, two stockades of no great strength, and about 500 yards inland they had, near the village, a very strong stone fort. About 1000 yards from the first-mentioned stockades the creek was staked across. At the time of our arrival large numbers of troops were passing towards and from Souchow, with horsemen, etc. We opened fire on them and on their boats. The rebels seemed perfectly amazed at seeing us, and were ready for a run. General Ching was as sulky as a bear when he was informed that Major Gordon thought it advisable to take these stockades the next day and to attack on this side of the city.

The steamer took us back that day, and at dawn (30th May) the 4th Regiment, 350 strong, with field artillery, all in boats, and *Hyson* accompanied by some fifty Imperial gunboats, started for Chumye. The Imperial gunboats had started some hours previously, but had contented themselves with halting some one and a half mile from the stockades. The whole flotilla, some eighty boats, with their large white sails, and decorated with the usual amount of various coloured flags, with the *Hyson* in the middle, presented a very picturesque sight, and must have made the garrison at Quinsan

feel uncomfortable, as they could see the smallest move from the high hill inside the city, and knew, of course, more than we did, of the importance of the stockades about to be attacked.

At twelve noon we came up to the stakes and landed the infantry. The Imperial gunboats, now very brave, pulled up the stakes, and a general advance with the steamer and troops was made. The rebels stood for a minute, and then vacated the stockades and ran. The *Hyson* steamed up and entered the main canal, and the rebels, who were in great force, split to the right, going to Quinsan, and to the left, going to Souchow. The 4th Regiment was ordered to pursue them to the right towards Quinsan, and the *Hyson* went off to the left towards Souchow, the Imperialists remaining quiescent. It may be as well to state that the reason why the rebels defended the stockades so badly was on account of the ill feeling between the chiefs in charge of Quinsan and Chumye, and the neglect of the former to afford rice to the garrison of the latter.

The *Hyson* now steamed up towards Souchow at a slow pace, owing to the innumerable boats that crowded the creek, and which, vacated by their owners, were drifting about with their sails up in every direction. The rebels were in clusters along the bank, marching in an orderly way towards Souchow. The *Hyson* opened fire on them and harried their progress, and, hanging on their rear, kept up a steady fire till they reached Ta Edin,

where a large arch bridge spanned the creek, and where the rebels had constructed a splendid stone fort. Another wide road leading from the south joined the Souchow road at this bridge, which was high enough to admit of the *Hyson* passing through with her funnel up. We expected that the rebels would make a stand here; but they merely fired one shot, which was answered by a shell from the *Hyson* which went into the embrasure, and the rebels continued their flight. The *Hyson* passed through the bridge, under all the loopholes of the fort, while the rebels were passing over the bridge on to the Souchow road, and were running through the fort in their flight. It became rather hazardous to pass this fort and leave it unoccupied, with the number of armed rebels who were between Chumye and Ta Edin, and who had been passed by the steamer, or else had laid down till she passed. The *Hyson*, however, had no force on board of any importance. There were with Major Gordon five or six Europeans and some thirty Chinamen, gunners, etc. However, some six landed and held the fort for a time till the Imperialists came up, whilst the *Hyson* pushed on towards Souchow.

The *Hyson* continued the pursuit, threading her way through the boats of all descriptions which crowded the creek, and harassing the rear of the rebel columns, which extended along the road for over a mile, and which was continually being fed from the country as it proceeded. About two miles

from Ta Edin another stone fort was passed without a shot being fired; this was Siaou Edin. Everything was left in the forts by the rebels. Soon after passing this place the steamer headed some 400 rebels, and her captain (Davidson) ran her into the bank, and took 150 of them prisoners on board the *Hyson*—rather a risk, considering the crew of that vessel and her size.

Soon after this four horsemen were descried, riding at full speed about a mile in rear of the steamer, which was continuing on her way to Souchow. They came up, passed the steamer amid a storm of bullets, and joined the rebel column. One of them was struck off his horse, but the others coolly waited for him, and one of them stopped and took him up behind him. They deserved to get off. About three miles farther on another stockade of stone was passed at a broken bridge called Waiquaidong, and the pursuit was carried on to about three-quarters of a mile from Souchow, where a large bridge spans the creek. It was now getting late (6 P.M.), and we did not know if the rebels in our rear might not have occupied the stockades at Waiquaidong, Siaou Edin, and Ta Edin, in which case we should have had to find another route back, which in our ignorance we did not know was practicable; we also knew that there were large numbers of rebels to be passed along the road back. On our return we met crowds of villagers, who at our suggestion burnt the houses in the forts at Waiquai-

dong and Siaou Edin, and took the boats that were in the creek.

We met many boats that had appeared deserted on our passing up sailing merrily towards Souchow, but when they saw the red and green of the steamer, and heard her whistle, they immediately ran into the bank and were deserted. Just before Siaou Edin was reached we came on a large body of rebels, who opened a sharp fire of rifles on us, striking the gun twice; they had got under cover of a bridge, which, however, after a short delay, we managed to enfilade with a charge of grape, and thus cleared them out. We then steamed into the bank, and took in more prisoners. Four chiefs, one a Wang, galloped past on horseback, and although not two yards from the steamer they got away. The Wang got shoved into the water and lost his pony. A party of rebels were encamped in Siaou Edin, not dreaming of any further annoyance for that night, and were accordingly astonished to hear the steamer's whistle, and rushing out in amazement to meet a shell at the entrance, which killed two of them. The steamer now pushed on to Ta Edin, and found it unoccupied. While waiting there to collect some of the prisoners, about 200 rebels came so suddenly on the steamer that we were obliged to whistle to keep them off till the gun could be got ready.

It was now 10.30 P.M., and the night was not very clear. At this moment the most tremendous

firing and cheering was heard from Chumye, and hurried our progress to that place. Just before we reached it a gunboat disarranged the rudder, and then we were dodging about from side to side for some ten minutes, the firing and the cheering going on as before. At last we got up to the junction of the creek we had come up in the morning, and the main creek, and steaming through the Imperial and other boats we came on the scene of action. The Imperial gunboats were drawn up in line on the other side of the creek to the road, and were firing as fast as they could.

The stone fort at the village was sparkling with musketry, from which at times the most astounding yells burst forth. The *Hyson* blew her whistle, and was received with deafening cheers from the gunboats, which were on the eve of bolting (some had already left). She steamed up the creek towards Quinsan, and at the distance of 200 yards we saw a confused mass near a high bridge. It was too dark to distinguish very clearly, but on the steamer blowing the whistle the mass wavered, yelled, and turned back. It was the garrison of Quinsan attempting to escape to Souchow —some 7000 to 8000 men. Matters were in too critical a state to hesitate, as the mass of the rebels, goaded into desperation, would have swept our small force away. We were therefore forced to fire into them, and pursue them towards Quinsan, firing, however, very rarely, and only when the rebels

looked as if they would make a stand. The steamer went up to about a mile from Quinsan, and then returned. Several officers landed and took charge of the prisoners, who were extended along the bank, and at 4 A.M. (31st May) everything was quiet.

The *Hyson* had fired some eighty or ninety rounds during the day and night, and although humanity might have desired a smaller destruction, it was indispensably necessary to inflict such a blow on the garrison of Souchow as would cause them not to risk another such engagement, and thus enable us to live in peace during the summer, which it indeed did, for the rebels never came on this road again. Their loss must have been some 3000 to 4000 men killed, drowned, and taken prisoners. We took 800, most of whom entered our ranks; they lost all their arms and a very large number of boats. The history of this disastrous defeat lay in their neglect of having a good road of communication to Souchow; the road which then existed ran on the north bank of the canal, and crossed wide creeks by high narrow bridges, where only one man could go abreast, and over which no other bridge existed. This road ran along a mere strip of land, from one-half to one-and-a-half mile wide, this strip being bounded by the Yansingho lake to the north, the main creek to the south. The Yansingho lake, ten miles wide, prevented any divergence in that direction, where, even had it been possible, they would have encountered the hostility of the villagers, who rose in mass against

the fugitives. The road at parts consisted of a three feet bank for perhaps 150 yards, having the main creek on one side and a sort of lake on the other.

The fugitives in their boats pushed one another into the water, and this made the causeway slippery, and added to the difficulties of passage. A Chinese at any time is not a fast walker, and, what with the rains of the previous day, the progress the fugitives made can be imagined. There were many chiefs killed, among whom was Mow Wang's brother.[1]

[1] Here is a hurried letter, written by Gordon after the capture of Quinsan, which will give some idea of the state of things :—

"The rebels certainly never got such a licking before, and I think that there will not be much more severe fighting, as we have such immense advantages in the country in the way of steamers. Quinsan is a large city four and a half miles round, and has a hill in the centre some 600 feet high, from which the flat country around can be seen for upwards of fifty miles. It is a wonderful country for creeks and lakes, and very rich. My occupying this city enables the Imperial Government to protect an enormous district rich in corn, etc., and the people around are so thankful for their release that it is quite a pleasure. They were in a desperate plight before our arrival, as their way lay between the rebels and Imperialists; but they had the sharpness to have two head men or chiefs in each village—one was Imperialist and the other a rebel; these paid the various taxes to both sides. In order to put you *au fait* as to my position, I must tell you something perhaps egotistical; but I suppose you want to hear what is the case. The Governor of the Province, Prince Kung, and nearly all the mandarins are extremely satisfied with my appointment. I rejoice in the rank of Tsung-ping or Red-Button Mandarin, but I do not wear the dress, as you may suppose. They write me very handsome letters, and are very civil in every way. I like them, but they require a great deal of tact, and getting in a rage with their apathy is detrimental, so I put up with it. I have no doubt of my having been able to take Souchow the other day, if the mandarins had been able to take advantage of our success. . . . You may hear of cruelties being committed—do not believe them. We took nearly 800 prisoners, and they have some of them entered my bodyguard and fought since against their old friends the rebels. If I had time I could tell such extraordinary stories of the way men from distant

At 5 A.M. on the 31st May the troops at Chumye and the *Hyson* moved towards Quinsan, and found the remainder of the force who had been left at the east gate already in the city. They had heard of the evacuation from some men who had run out during the night.

The possession of Quinsan was of immense value from a strategical point of view. The circumference of its walls are some five miles, but they are very inferior. Its ditch is over forty yards wide, and from the nature of the creeks around it it would prove very difficult to take. The high hill enclosed within

provinces meet one another, and the way villagers recognise in our ranks old rebels who have visited their villages for plunder; but I really have no time for it. I took a mandarin, who had been a rebel for three years, and have him now; he has a bullet in his cheek, which he received when fighting against the rebels. The rebels I took into my guard were snake flag-bearers of head chiefs, and they are full of the remarks of their old masters. The snake flags are the marks of head men in both armies. Whenever they are seen there is a chief present. When they go, you know the rebels will retire. At Taitsan the snake flags remained till the last, and this accounted for a very severe fight. The rebel Wangs or kings knew that 'a new English *piecde* had come when Fushan was taken, but did not expect him at Taitsan.' Some of the reports spread are most amusing; one is that 'the rebels gave me £2000 not to attack Quinsan' when I advanced on that place after the capture of Taitsan. All the mandarins have heard of this; but it must have slightly upset their story when we came up again against Quinsan. Bu Wang and ten other Wangs were drowned in the retreat; the former was head man of Souchow, and wrote a very important letter to General Staveley, saying we were a nation of traders, and that his armies were as sand on seashore. I never did think the rebels were as strong as people said; they do not number many fighting men, Chang Wang, the Faithful King, is away, and is said not to intend returning to Souchow. The Souchow people have removed their wives and property to the lakes behind Souchow; but I think the Wangs will be sadly put out when they see the three steamers we have in the lakes, which I hope they will do shortly.

its walls would enable the slightest move to be seen; and if two or three guns were placed on the spurs of this hill it would form a very formidable citadel. The rebels did not know its importance till they lost it. It is the key to Souchow, and a force located there would, with two steamers, quite prevent any attack or advance being made on Sungkiong or Taitsan. A steamer communication exists between it and Chanzu, and several routes exist by which a force might be brought down on the line of communication of any rebel troops advancing on Sungkiong from Souchow. No place could have suited

"Knowledge of the country is everything, and I have studied it a great deal. Chanzu is within forty miles. I have been several times to see the city; it now feels quite relieved at the capture of Quinsan. The horror of the rebels at the steamer is very great; when she whistles they cannot make it out. I suppose Sherard Osborne will be out in a mail or two, but his steamers will draw too much water for these creeks and lakes. We have several personal servants of the Bu Wang among the prisoners; they of course can retail their masters' remarks on the past affairs, and are very amusing. They issued a proclamation ordering powder to be put under the steamer, and for her to be thus blown up. The query was, Who should do it? which was not answered. This place is much more healthy than Shanghai. I wish I could send you the Chinese letters I receive; some are very quaint, but cleverly written. I daresay I shall be loudly attacked by Colonel Sykes, etc., in the House of Commons. I always after a fight write a sort of memorandum on it, and send it to the English general.

"I have some four English officers with me; we wear anything we can get, and the men are almost in rags. General Staveley will tell you about the rabble. As you say, the pay is not my motive. I really do think I am doing a good service in putting down this rebellion, and so would any one if he saw the delight of the villagers at getting out of the oppressors' hands.

"Since the capture of Quinsan we have only been out on small scouting expeditions, from one of which we returned on Saturday, having driven the rebels out of their stockades, 1200 yards from Souchow. Having to move our headquarters has caused a good deal of work, and this is only just completed."

the requirements of the force better than Quinsan, and at the same time enabled them to hold such a large district safe from the rebel inroads. There is no doubt that Quinsan is the most important, both for defence and for attack, of any of the cities hitherto taken.

The change of residence, however, was looked on with great distaste by the soldiers, who had been so long located in Sungkiong that they were most averse to leaving it. The artillery evinced their disgust by refusing to fall in, and in a proclamation they threatened to blow the Chinese authorities away with the small guns and the Europeans with the big guns. Their non-commissioned officers, as usual, all paraded, and were sent for by Major Gordon, who asked them the reason why the men did not fall in, and who wrote the proclamation. They, of course, did not know; and on Major Gordon telling them he would be obliged to shoot one in every five, they evinced their objection to this proceeding by a groan. The most prominent in this was a corporal, who was dragged out, and a couple of infantry who were standing by were ordered to load, and directed to shoot the mutineer, which one did without the slightest hesitation. The remainder were marched back and locked up for an hour, with the threat that if the name of the writer of the proclamation was not given, and if the men did not fall in before an hour had elapsed, the arrangement of shooting one in five would be carried out.

At the expiration of an hour the men all fell in, and the name of the culprit, who had run away, was given up. Since that time we had no trouble, the men were thoroughly cowed, and the non-commissioned officers—the real offenders—dared no longer foster sedition. It is to be regretted, however, that one life should have been sacrificed; but this saved many others which must have been lost if a stop had not been put to the independent way of the men. Thus within a fortnight the officers and men had each received a lesson which they did not soon forget. The change of residence, however, induced many men to leave the force after pay day, which was reduced to 1700 men, those who left being natives of Shanghai and Sungkiong. The deficiency was soon filled up by recruiting from the prisoners of the rebel garrison of Quinsan and from the villages in the neighbourhood.

At the same time as this fracas took place, a very serious dispute was going on between Ching, the Imperialist general, and Major Gordon. The former wanted the city, and that our force should go back to Sungkiong. Ching had been very much put out at the change of the attack from the east to the west side of Quinsan, as he had established his stockades at the east gate, and had, as before stated, written to the Futai, sending a plan showing his stockades on the edge of the ditch, and saying he only wanted guns to make a hole in the wall to get in. It was therefore annoying to him to find the attack made

elsewhere. He had also industriously spread a report that Major Gordon had received 3000 dollars from the Mow Wang to relinquish his attack on Quinsan when he retired after taking Taitsan. Ching was wonderfully impertinent, but could not carry his point, so he went off very much disgusted to Chumye and Ta Edin, where he entrenched himself.

About the 10th June General Li, whose family lived at Deking, a large village north-west, in the Yansingho lake, some twelve miles off Quinsan, came in and said that the rebels were foraging the country around Deking, and asked us to send out with him 150 men. Major Gordon gave him the number he required, and he started with Majors Kirkham and Lowden. They arrived that night, and the next day, on the advance of the rebels, they opened fire and pursued them for four miles. The Imperial gunboats, which had been driven back by the rebels, advanced as the rebels retired.

The troops with General Li now returned, and were suddenly surprised by the Imperial gunboats turning round and opening fire on them with grape and round shot. Unfortunately the troops were out of ammunition and could not reply. They had, therefore, to run for it. General Li would have been drowned if it had not been for Majors Kirkham and Lowden. Several men were wounded and two or three killed. The gunboats then came up to Deking, and met with

enough abuse. General Ching made his appearance, and seemed at first to think it a joke, but was unpleasantly reminded it was not. He said he did not know the flag, which, being green and red, and there being only one, he must have done. Thus the matter rested till a report was made to Quinsan. Major Gordon wrote down to the Futai concerning the matter, and prepared to start that evening with a larger force and the *Hyson* steamer, to attack the rebels and Ching if he showed any more signs of fighting us. Ching heard of the expedition, and sent up three apologies, offering to pay any compensation, etc., which were unanswered.

Major Gordon started on the 11th June, and was overtaken by Mr. Macartney, who had come up from the Futai about the matter. The Futai had sent this gentleman up in post haste to prevent a rupture, and anxious to find a third party whom he did not fear, had pitched upon General Li, and laid all the fault on him. The Futai had strong reasons for not wishing to offend Ching. This man had formerly been a rebel, and had paid the Futai a large sum to secure him. When the Futai was a much smaller man they had worked together for a long time, and Ching's rebel funds, which he had secured when he came over with some city, enabled the Futai to purchase higher grades, and thus together they were strongly united.

Major Gordon continued his progress on the 12th June towards Souchow. The rebels had retired, and

the steamer *Hyson* went down close to the Low-mün or east gate, where the rebels were making some stockades. At the sight of the steamer they left their stockades and flags and fled towards the city. The steamer's career was brought to a close by some junks which she could not get over, and which the rebels perceived, and they immediately swarmed out of the city in the hope of taking her. There being no object to be gained in persisting in the attack, the troops, who had not landed from their boats, were ordered back, and, with the steamer, returned through Deking to Quinsan, while Major Gordon went, as had been arranged, to General Ching, who apologised humbly for his conduct, and thus the affair ended.

The weather now became very hot, and active preparations were in consequence arrested. The *Hyson* steamer was also under repairs, which were not completed till the end of July.

The Futai had not paid up the various claims against the force, and the creditors were pressing Major Gordon for their money. This state of affairs caused that officer to send his resignation in to the Futai.[1] The British officers who had served with the force, viz. Lieutenant Wood, R.A., and Lieu-

[1] Gordon's letter to Li Hung Chung ran as follows :—

"HEADQUARTERS, QUINSAN, *25th July* 1863.

"YOUR EXCELLENCY—In consequence of monthly difficulties I experience in getting the payment of the force made, the non-payment of legitimate bills for boat-hire and munitions of war from Her Britannic Majesty's Government, who have done so much for the Imperial Chinese authorities, I have determined on throwing up the command of this force, as my rètention of office in these circumstances is

tenant Stephens, 99th Regiment, had already rejoined their regiments, owing to the general order, by which if they continued to serve they had to go on half pay. Major Gordon, in his letter resigning his command, informed the Futai that he would carry out his intention of attacking Wokong, a town to the south of Souchow, before leaving, as there had been some amount of expense incurred in the preparations for this attack.

There were at this time alarming rumours concerning General Burgevine; it was known that he was enlisting all the loose characters about Shanghai, and also that he was in close communication with men who had been originally in the force, and who had left it. He had always been on good terms with Major Gordon, and, three or four days before the expedition against Wokong

derogatory to my position as a British officer who cannot be a suppliant for what your Excellency knows to be necessities, and should only be too happy to give.

"As my resignation of this command will necessitate the knowledge of the British Minister and General, I have forwarded to them copies of this letter, and have to add that I will remain in command of the force only till such time as I shall have received their replies.—I have, etc. C. G. GORDON."

General Brown, General Staveley's successor, soon after wrote to Lord De Grey and Ripon—

"I have to mention that I have received an official intimation from Major Gordon, commanding the Chinese disciplined forces, resigning the command, owing to the difficulties attending payment of the men by the 'Futai.'

"I trust, however, that I may be able to do something in the matter to induce Major Gordon to withdraw his application, having no officer at my disposal to replace him, as in this officer are combined so many dashing qualities, let alone skill and judgment, to make him invaluable to command such a force."

started, he wrote to the latter, telling him to disregard all rumours about him, that he would explain everything, and that he was coming up to Quinsan shortly in one of the steamers.

Major Gordon gave credence to this letter, and thereupon wrote to the Futai, and foolishly secured General Burgevine. The expedition was to start at 9 P.M., and at 5 P.M. on the evening of the 26th of July the officer who had command of the artillery after the "revolt of the majors" made so many small but still important mistakes that Major Gordon determined to put the old commanding officer back in the command, which he did. That evening the whole of the artillery officers wrote a "round robin," and refused to serve under this officer or to accompany the expedition. Major Gordon wrote back that, if they did not immediately join their batteries, he would strike their names off the rolls of the force. He then collected storekeepers and any one who would offer to serve the guns, and then started with the artillery officers.

The guns and artillerymen were in the boats, and as they had had warning before, and the reinstallation of the old commanding officer pleased them, they took no part in the affair, and obeyed the order for the march, in spite of the attempts made by some of the artillery officers, who ran along the bank and tried to make them stop. The expedition therefore started (consisting of the 1st, 5th, and 6th Regiments) at the hour named, without the artillery

officers—a pleasant state of affairs. The boats went on all night, and at 1 A.M., 26th July, reached a village at the distance of twenty li from the rebels, where it encamped.

At dusk a letter was given to Major Gordon from the artillery officers, who had come in a mass, begging their conduct might be overlooked this time, etc. Major Gordon having resigned, told the bearer of the letter to tell the officers to join their batteries and not to give him further trouble; adding, that he had all the will but not the power to have shot one or two of the leaders. In all these squabbles the officers were scarcely to blame. They thought they had a grievance, talked it over till it became a mountain, and then acted on the spur of the moment, quite heedless of the consequences to themselves or the service, but, as a rule, repenting the next day. They were brave, gallant men, who evinced far more ingenuity and quickness than is shown among the officers of some armies. They were wonderfully sharp in acquiring a knowledge of the country, and though, as there always will be, there were some men who did not do much credit to the force, as a rule they were a most efficient body of officers. Their great fault, however, no doubt was the one alluded to, viz. a belief in imaginary grievances.

It is now necessary to describe the position of the town our expedition was *en route* to attack.

The Imperial Government's main object was the

reduction of Souchow, the capital of their province, and to accomplish this great end all their efforts were devoted. Souchow is situated on the Grand Canal, and is some eight miles from the Taiho, a large lake which extends for fifty miles to the south and forty miles to the north-west of Souchow. From the Grand Canal to this lake are four entrances by which steamers can enter. One at Pingwang, the most southerly, is a continuation of the Wompoa river, and the rebels have there a strong fort, defending the approach down the Grand Canal to Kashingfu, the capital of the silk districts. Sixteen miles up the Grand Canal, towards the north, is the city of Wokong, some 1000 yards from the bank. This city is some two or three miles in circumference, and not strong. Three miles to the northward of Wokong is the second communication from the Grand Canal into the Taiho or Great lake, and here the rebels had two strong stone forts. This place is called Kahpoo. A large steamboat creek comes into the Grand Canal opposite the creek leading into the Taiho lake, and it was by this creek our expedition advanced. Kahpoo is some ten miles from Souchow, and the strip of land between the lake and the Grand Canal is not more than four miles at this place.

About five miles to the north of Kahpoo is the fifty-two-arch bridge, called by the Chinese Patachiao. This bridge, 300 yards long, is carried over a shallow expanse of water. Its arches are not

more than fourteen feet high, except the three centre ones, which are higher. A communication exists from Patachiao to the same embouchure into the lake as the creek from Kahpoo, and therefore it has not been counted with the Kahpoo communication. A large creek from Quinsan and Shanghai enters the Grand Canal at this point. The rebels had here a strong fort, built at the extremity of the bridge. The Grand Canal runs northward to the south-east angle of the city of Souchow, some two or three miles distant. The main road from Souchow to Hangchow, and in fact the only road, runs along the bank of the Grand Canal. It passes from the Fullina or south-east gate of Souchow, and crosses the canal close to the city over the Modo-chiao, a high single-arch bridge. It proceeds by the west bank through Patachiao, and, passing a high single-arch bridge (Yin-tsung-chiao), continues on the left bank to Kahpoo, where it crosses to the east side, and continuing thus to the south-east of Wokong, where it crosses to the west bank, and continues on this bank to Pingwang. It is a narrow track crossing innumerable branch creeks leading from the Grand Canal to the Taiho lake by narrow, high bridges, and which creeks are not, in most cases, spanned by any other bridges than these throughout their length. It will be seen that Kahpoo was a most important point, inasmuch as its possession secured, first, an entrance into the Grand Canal and communication with the Taiho

lake, and the command of the road from Souchow to the south.

The possession of this road by the Imperialists would oblige the rebels to communicate south, either by boat through the Taiho lake, where they might expect to be harassed by our steamers, or else by land on the other side of the lake—an immense detour (*vide* Map). The capture of Wokong was not absolutely necessary for the cutting off of this road, but it was considered better, as the existence of a town in possession of the rebels would render the stockades at Kahpoo difficult to retain.

From Souchow there radiated four main roads: the one alluded to to the south; one to Shanghai, through Quinsan; one to Chanzu (a city in our possession); and one to Wusieh, Chanchufu, Tayang, Chinkiang, along the bank of the Grand Canal the whole way. The Taiho lake also offered a means of water communication which was most valuable to the rebels.

The main road from Souchow to Wusieh and Chanchufu, and thence to Nankin, runs along the bank of the Grand Canal from the Tchamin or north-west gate. The Grand Canal has two large creeks which run into it at Tusigwan and Monding respectively. These two creeks are connected with the Yansingho, and afford a passage into the Grand Canal for a steamer. The rebels had protected these points of junction by strong stockades. There were two other roads between the Grand

Canal and the Taiho lake—one through Jung-ling-chiang-miaou, and the other through Kwampa; but these roads were not well known to the rebels, and but little used, owing to the great detour they made.

To return to the expedition we left encamped at the village on the lake at the entrance of the creek leading to Kahpoo. We started at daybreak on the following day (the 27th July) and proceeded leisurely up towards Kahpoo. The *Firefly*, a new steamer, the counterpart of the *Hyson*, had joined us, and proceeded ahead with the gunboats. When we arrived within about 600 yards of the rebel position we found the Imperial gunboats pulling up the stakes which the rebels had put down to bar our advance. They had made these barriers across the creek, but had left a small passage in them for boats. The rebels' stockades were two in number, of stone, on the west or opposite side of the Grand Canal. One of them commanded the creek up which we were advancing, and the other, about 150 yards to the north of it, was at the point where the creek leading into the Taiho lake leaves the Grand Canal. About 200 yards south of the first-mentioned stone fort was the bridge over which the communication leading to the south crosses the canal. This has been already alluded to. The road from Kahpoo to the south is on the east bank of the Grand Canal, while the road from Kahpoo to the north is on the west bank of the same. The rebels were

evidently taken by surprise, and did not keep up much of a fire. Seeing this, Major Gordon directed two companies to dash over the bridge and get under cover on the other side. The rebels fired a very few shots, and then evacuated both stockades, going towards Souchow. They lost very slightly, and we equally so. They had evidently been taken by surprise. We pursued them up to Yintze-chiao, and then returned to Kahpoo. General Ching was anxious to attack some stockades of the rebels at Tungli, a village some six miles to the east of Wokong, at the same time that we attacked the latter place, on which we advanced the next day at dawn. He accordingly left on that evening.

At dawn on the 28th July we started down the Grand Canal, leaving the *Firefly* steamer and an Imperialist garrison at Kahpoo.

About 1000 yards from the north-east angle of Wokong the Grand Canal is spanned by a high arched bridge, by which a branch road leads to the city, about 500 yards to the south of this bridge. To the east of the road leading south we discovered a rebel fort on the north bank of the creek leading from Tungli to the Grand Canal. Just before we came to this high bridge a large creek branched out to the west from the Grand Canal, leading into the lake, and spanned by a bridge opposite the city. On the north side of this creek, and commanding this bridge, was a stone fort, which, when we arrived, was unoccupied.

As soon, however, as the rebels in the city saw our advance they rushed out to occupy it, and Major Gordon pushed out the 4th and 6th Regiments to cut them off, and endeavour to get into the stockades before them. The consequence was a race. The rebels got over the bridge spanning the creek alluded to, and then hesitated to get into the stockade. However, they at last mustered up courage and went forward. The 4th and 6th Regiments were collected, and rushing at them, drove the reinforcements back into the city, and advancing up to the edge of the ditch of the north gate, there is little doubt that the city might have been taken at once by escalade, so utterly surprised were the garrison at our temerity; but there was a certain risk about it which Major Gordon did not like incurring, so the 6th Regiment were left in the stone stockade, and Major Gordon went back to the high bridge with the 4th Regiment, where the 5th Regiment had been left to watch the rebel stockade before alluded to, and which, isolated as it was, would have proved an easy capture. The 5th Regiment, however, under their gallant leader, could not withstand the temptation, and therefore rushed at it, and carried it by assault. It was a strong work, and might have cost many more lives than it did. As it was, we lost, rank and file, one killed and thirteen wounded at the two fights, and Lieutenant Murdough, 5th Regiment, wounded.

The 1st Regiment was left in the stockade or

fort, and the 4th and 5th Regiments proceeded down the bank of the canal to the south-east angle, to reconnoitre the position. The canal at the south-east angle of Wokong has a large branch proceeding towards the lake, which is crossed by a large bridge, over which the road from the south gate of Wokong passes to rejoin the main road, which, as already has been stated, at this point crosses from the east to the west bank of the Grand Canal over a wooden bridge.

At the embranchment mentioned the rebels had constructed a strong stone fort, which, strange to say, was unoccupied. This was immediately taken possession of by the 4th and 5th Regiments, and thus all the roads of communication from Wokong were held by our troops. They had the lake to fall back upon.

It was now 11 A.M., and we could hear Ching's gunboats firing away. Major Gordon and General Li went on in some gunboats down the Grand Canal to the south, some three miles, where a large creek from Tungli joins the Grand Canal, and where the villagers said that the rebels had a small stockade, with some fifty men in it. We hoped to have news of Ching's attack on Tungli at this place, for although the firing from Tungli had not entirely ceased, it had much abated. On nearing the stockade the rebels left, and we set it on fire. We saw now about twenty gunboats under sail coming down from Tungli to the Grand Canal in our rear. These

boats were believed to be General Ching's, but the flags could not be made out, and our force here was very inadequate to face any armed party. However, we were in a trap, and running the risk of firing on our friends. We sent a rocket or two at the approaching boats, which if they had been Ching's would thus have known that we were friends, as the rebels have no rockets. Instead of proceeding they lowered their sails and masts and disappeared. At the same time as this occurred, and we had begun to return (glad to get out of our position), about fifty or sixty smaller boats came down full of rebels from Tungli.

This was too great a temptation, so we returned, attacked them, and got some thirty of their boats. Some of the rebels were taken prisoners, and others took to the land. The other boats turned back. We now returned to the south-east stockade, and at that place met a rebel chief, who said if we would secure their lives, he and all his men, who were all distributed about the country, would come over. Major Gordon gave him a Loomchu, and he brought in some 700 men. At this time news came in from the stone fort, where the 1st Regiment was located, stating that they had perceived twenty gunboats coming from Tungli, down the creek, passing by their stockade, going towards the Grand Canal. Major Tumblety had waited till they came close to the stockade, and then had captured the whole convoy, and 500 prisoners. These were the same gunboats we had seen, and which had gone back.

From this it became known that General Ching had succeeded at Tungli in dislodging the rebels. We remained quiet for the remainder of the day; but had no news from General Ching.

Major Gordon, however, made his arrangements for an attack on Wokong the next day, and did not intend waiting, as the place seemed very weak. The rebels had not even broken the bridge over the ditch of the city. At daybreak (29th July), however, the chiefs sent out and asked quarter, which was granted, and the troops entered the city.

It appears from the prisoners' statements that Ying Wang, a brother of Chung Wang, had been in command, and had left in the night without telling his troops. He had been made a Wang only three days, and we captured a theatrical company who had come up from Hangchow to celebrate the event. These men were all dressed out in their robes, false beards, etc., and were very much perplexed. The prisoners said that the garrison had been removed three days previous to the attack, and that they, under Ying Wang, had just come down from Nankin; that they consequently knew nothing of the neighbourhood, were ill provided with rice and powder, and hence their bad defence. We took some 4000 prisoners, among them many chiefs, including the second in command.

General Ching arrived at 1 P.M., and orders were given to the force to prepare to evacuate the city, and to return the next day (30th July) to

Quinsan. General Ching was very anxious to get the prisoners; but it was only after great trouble that he got 1500 to make soldiers of, and these men Major Gordon made him promise, in his presence, good treatment, giving the prisoners the option of going with him instead of remaining with Ching. He, however, would not give him any of the chiefs, who, with the force and the remainder of the prisoners, went back the next day (30th July) to Quinsan, giving the city over to General Ching, while we remained behind at Kahpoo with the *Firefly* steamer, and steamed up to the Yintze-chiao bridge towards Souchow on the 31st July, intending to return in the evening. Mow Wang, it seems, had been taken by surprise when we took Kahpoo, and had come down on the 29th July, when we were working around Wokong, and made a determined attack on Kahpoo, but was driven back by the *Firefly*, which, it will be remembered, was left there. He had then some fifty or sixty Europeans with him; but Burgevine had not yet gone up for good.

When we arrived at Yintze-chiao we saw the Patachiao stockade quite plainly about two miles distant, and a large number of boats congregated about it. The rebels were making another stockade on the opposite bank. Having no force to accompany us, we returned to Kahpoo just as the *Hyson* arrived from Shanghai. General Ching arrived soon after from Wokong, and Major Gordon thought

it would be a good opportunity to reconnoitre Patachiao more closely; and so we started with 100 of Ching's men and the two steamers, and soon arrived at Patachiao. The rebel boats immediately started for Souchow, and the stockade not opening any serious fire, we steamed right past it almost before the rebels vacated it, and then opened fire on the retreating boats. The 100 men of General Ching soon entered the stockade, and we took from it and the unfinished one some six brass guns.

On the other side of the Patachiao bridge were enclosed in a sort of lake some fifteen large boats, which we could not get at, owing to the steamers not being able to get through the bridge. We opened fire over them to induce the boatmen to come in; but they took no notice. We then fired two shots from the thirty-two pounder; but they took no notice. At last we got a small boat, and went up to them, and found they were full of stores of all sorts. We made the boatmen bring them down to the steamers. While this was going on the stockade had been set on fire, which the Mow Wang perceiving, and knowing from it that we were going to vacate it, he came down with a large force and his Europeans: we were now obliged to look out, for they advanced very boldly. The captured boats were, therefore, sent on to Kahpoo, and the steamers turned towards that place. These steamers had a thirty-two-pounder in their bows and a twelve-pounder in the

stern; but they were awkward to steer, and thence liable to capture without a land force (which we had not got) to protect them. We therefore held on to the stockade till the steamers had got down a little way, and then bolted from the stockade over the 300 yards bridge. The rebels rushed in, and were in the stockade as we reached the other end of the bridge—the steamer's stern guns deterred them from venturing across the bridge, and after shelling them a little we retired. The rebel musketry practice was very good, and we had an officer on board the *Hyson* (Lieutenant Vere Guiness) shot through the wrist. This was our first interview with the European rebel contingent, who in their rapid and bold advance and good practice showed that we might expect some harder work before long.

On our return to Kahpoo we inspected the captured boats. They produced passes from the Taoutai of Shanghai, which Major Gordon could not read, so had to fall back on the interpreters, who were very kindly disposed to the boat-owners, and they eventually made Major Gordon believe that these passes were correct, and thus the boats were released. It turned out after that these passes were forged, and that the boat-owners had paid down 300 taels to the interpreters for their assistance.

General Ching went back to Wokong, having been warned strongly by Major Gordon of the necessity of strengthening the Kahpoo stockades

very much, and of putting 1000 men in them. This was necessary, as it was evident that the rebels, with the European auxiliaries, were not likely to leave Kahpoo unmolested. Major Gordon, after Ching's departure, heard that he had beheaded five of the prisoners who had been given over to him. This, and his determination to quit the command, caused him to decide on going at once to Shanghai; and consequently we started in the *Firefly* for Quinsan the next day (1st August), leaving the *Hyson* to defend Kahpoo till Ching could strengthen it.

Major Gordon started, after giving the necessary orders at Quinsan, and reached Shanghai the next night (2d August) at 8 P.M. He had an interview without an interpreter with the Futai, and therefore made an appointment to come again at 7 A.M. the next day. On arriving in the settlement he heard that Burgevine and a large party of foreigners had left for Souchow. This obliged him to leave at once on horseback, and ride up to Quinsan that night, and quite upset his intention of resigning, as the danger of a change of command would have been most detrimental to the whole of the community at Shanghai, and, in the face of such difficulties which now surrounded the Imperialists, it would not have been much to his credit if he had left them. He felt the more engaged to remain as he had (as has been already stated) secured Burgevine to the Futai.

To return to Burgevine, it appears that he had

for some time been in communication with the Mow Wang, and that his letter to Major Gordon was a blind.[1] The latter's position was not pleasant. He

[1] Sir Frederick Bruce, writing to Lord John Russell from Pekin, under date 9th September 1863, gives some interesting particulars as to Burgevine's movements since his degradation at Shanghai.

"General Burgevine, finding on his arrival at Shanghai that the governor of the province refused to comply with the instructions of the Pekin Government and reinstate him in the command of 'Ward's force,' determined on returning to Pekin to obtain a settlement of his claims on the Chinese Government.

"The governor immediately renewed, in the most offensive form, the charges by which he had originally attempted to justify his dismissal, and despatched at the same time the ex-superintendent of trade and Governor Sieh to support his views. This man, who has been long known for his intriguing character and retrograde views was appointed a member of the Board of Foreign Affairs. Up to the date of his arrival at Pekin the language of his Excellency Wensiang to the American Minister had been such as to lead me to hope that the charges of the governor would be abandoned, that Burgevine's pecuniary claims would be fairly settled, and that my suggestion to find him employment at Tientsin, or some other place in China, would be adopted.

"The bad influence of Sieh's presence soon made itself felt. The charges which had been abandoned as untenable were again brought forward, and Burgevine, despairing of justice, left for Shanghai. It was only after his departure, and by representations of the strongest character, that the Minister of the United States induced the Government to withdraw these charges. But no employment was offered to him, and Burgevine entirely failed at Shanghai in obtaining payment of the sums due as pay, and for articles supplied for the use of the corps on his personal responsibility. Stung by this treatment, suffering in health from severe wounds received in the Imperial service, and ruined in his prospects, he, with a band of desperadoes of all nations, has joined the insurgents. A man who would have been a useful friend has been thus converted into a dangerous enemy, and this result is due entirely to the injustice and perversity of the local authorities at Shanghai, to the weakness of the Central Government in allowing its orders to be disobeyed, and to that false confidence inspired in them by Major Gordon's successes, which led them to disregard suggestions which would have enabled them to remove Burgevine from the command at Shanghai without driving him to take his last desperate step.

"Until this event happened the Imperialists had been steadily gaining ground. Shih ta kai, the ablest of the Taeping leaders, had

knew that some of the officers in the force were disaffected and in correspondence with the agents of Burgevine, and, of course, felt insecure, not for his safety personally, but for the large quantities of guns and ammunition he had at Quinsan, which were far in excess of the means in possession of Her Majesty's troops at Shanghai. He determined to send some of the heavier guns and their ammunition to Taitsan,

been captured, and his corps broken up in Szechnen. The river defences of Nankin had been carried by storm, and the Chinese forces from Shanghai had driven successively the insurgents from all the positions they occupied between Shanghai and Souchow. Though a few of the bad characters of the coast were in the insurgent ranks, there was no leader of repute among them, and the field open in China to the more dangerous class of filibusters was being gradually narrowed by the substitution in 'Ward's corps' of a more reliable class as vacancies occurred.

"I cannot form an opinion as to the influence Burgevine may acquire among the Taepings, or the success which may attend his efforts to organise them. The first effect has been to reduce Major Gordon and the Chinese troops to the defensive, and to put an end to his hopes of the speedy capture of Souchow, which would have given effectual security to Shanghai. I do not know what may be Burgevine's plan of operations, but I see there is a feeling at Shanghai that he will endeavour to organise an expedition and strike a blow at Pekin. He could count on the support of the brigands in Shantung and Ganhwuy; and success at Pekin would certainly overthrow the present dynasty, whether it led to the establishment of the Taepings or not.

"It is to be regretted that the question was looked upon at Shanghai as one to be decided by the relative qualifications for command of Major Gordon and Burgevine. Of the former officer I have always entertained the highest opinion, but I fear even his abilities will not compensate for the injury done to the Imperialist cause by the accession of Burgevine, etc., to the insurgent ranks, and I must further observe that the encouragement given to the governor in thwarting an arrangement suggested by the foreign Ministers and recommended by the Central Government, tends to weaken the central executive, which it is our true policy to strengthen, and thereby to render more difficult the restoration of tranquillity, and less effectual our means of enforcing the observance of treaties by remonstrance at Pekin, instead of by violent action at the ports."

and General Brown, commanding Her Majesty's forces in China, most considerately sent up a small force there to protect them. This was done on the 8th August; and on that afternoon Major Gordon, having perceived fires in the direction of Kahpoo, determined to proceed there with 150 men and the *Cricket* steamer. The *Firefly* had already been sent to that place.

There is little doubt that Kahpoo and Wokong might have been easily recaptured had the rebels taken advantage of the occasion, for, strange to say, the Imperialists did not seem awake to the danger they were in, and were quite unprepared for an attack at any place. It will be remembered that on the morning of the 2d August Burgevine, with some forty other men, had captured the *Kajow*, a small screw steamer, at Sungkiong,[1] and thus might have operated on the rear of Woking and cut off its communications with Shanghai and Quinsan while the *Firefly* and the *Hyson* were engaged in defending Kahpoo. There is no knowing what an immense amount of damage might have been done if the rebels had had a more energetic man than Burgevine,

[1] "General Burgevine, who has for some time been enlisting Europeans, has commenced active operations on the part of the rebels against the Imperialists. On the morning of the 2d instant he, with the assistance of a party of Europeans, captured the steamer *Kajow* belonging to the Futaj, seizing her while close under the walls of Sungkiong. Apprehension is entertained for Major Gordon's force, in consequence of General Burgevine's popularity with the junior officers and men. Measures have been taken to stop the enlistment of Europeans, and a proclamation has been issued to that effect."—*Extract from a letter from Captain Strode to Vice-Admiral Kuper, Shanghai, 6th August* 1863.

and it would be as well not to point out the line which might have been taken.

Major Gordon arrived at Kahpoo just in time. General Ching had gone off to Shanghai in ignorance of the danger, and the Kahpoo stockades were seriously threatened on all sides. The rebels had made a most spirited attack the night previous, coming to the edge of the ditch and throwing light-balls, etc., into the stockade. They had with them the twelve-pounder howitzer which Burgevine had *borrowed* from our force, and they made capital practice with it. The *Hyson's* presence alone saved the place, which would have reopened the communication between Souchow and Shanghai, which latter place formed the base of operations to the rebels as well as to ourselves, for as for the Imperial custom-houses along the Wompoa river, or the precautions taken at Shanghai up to this date to prevent the exit of arms, they were of no consideration whatever. The possession of Wokong obliged the rebels to get their stores from Shanghai—an affair of at least five days instead of two, and on this route their boats would be liable to pay toll to the Kashingfu rebel chief, who cared little for Mow Wang.

Thus, on one occasion, he or his people took 300 out of 500 stand of arms which were *en route* for Souchow for the Mow Wang. If, however, Major Gordon's advice had been taken, even this route would have been stopped and a longer detour obliged to be taken. He had tried to induce the

Imperialists, after the capture of Wokong, to proceed on to Pingwang, but they said they had no troops to garrison it; so his idea was not carried out.

To return to the stockades at Kahpoo, Major Gordon, on arrival on the 9th August, seeing the strength of the rebels, sent for 200 more men and artillery, for, though the steamers might safely remain when exposed only to musketry, the presence of the twelve-pounder howitzer rendered their safety very precarious, inasmuch as one shell might blow them up. At 4 P.M. on the day of our arrival the rebels came down again to the attack. They brought the howitzer down to a mound about 500 yards from the stockades, and blew up a gunboat alongside of the *Hyson*. However, soon after a charge of thirty-two-pounder grape swept the mound, and the gun retired. We heard afterwards that one of the European gunners had been killed. The rebels attacked boldly enough, but we had now the two steamers, and kept them off with comparative ease. However, our reflection was that the time for easy victories had passed, and that we should have a hard tussle for the future. Burgevine was not present, he being in the Taiho lake with the *Kajow*.

The rebels on the following day (10th August) came down on the banks of the creek by which we communicated with Quinsan, and we moved down with one of the steamers to prevent them sinking junks or making stockades to cut off our retreat.

We were relieved, however, to see that they were burning the villages, as, although we were sorry for the unfortunate people who surrounded us in mobs, yet it was a sign that they gave up all idea of taking the stockades, for they would not have done this if they had thought they would have been successful. We fired on them, and drove them from the banks, and patrolled the stream during the day. The rebels around Kahpoo seemed bent on entrenching themselves on all sides. They made a strong breastwork on the large creek leading from Kahpoo to the Taiho lake, and constructed two large bridges over it. With our force we could not undertake any active measures against them; but on the 12th August we got our reinforcements from Quinsan, and in the afternoon went out with 300 men to attack the breastwork alluded to. It was extremely important to us that they should leave this creek, as by it we hoped to get the steamers into the lake and cut off that route.

Accordingly, at 4 P.M. 13th August, after the great heat of the day was over, we started and came on the rebels before they could send for assistance. They had made a mistake in their breastwork, and had laid it out so that it could be enfiladed. A company accomplished this, while the remainder of the men advanced direct on it. The rebels made a feeble resistance and retired. We pursued them through the village they occupied as quarters, took their loot, some three or four prisoners, destroyed

their bridges and breastwork, and drove them back about a mile. We then returned to Kahpoo. The next day (14th August) the rebels retired nearer to Souchow, and the day after (15th August) we could not see them at all.

General Ching had now come back and had sent more troops, so Major Gordon determined to return to Quinsan, leaving the *Hyson* at Kahpoo, and the *Cricket*, with 200 men and artillery, at a narrow place in the creek near Quinsan which it seemed most likely the rebels would attempt to block up. It must be remembered that these operations were carried on during the hottest month of the summer.

Major Gordon returned to Quinsan 17th August, but on the 22d August was obliged to go off again to Kahpoo through the idiocy of General Ching, who wanted to take the *Hyson* into the Taiho lake with some gunboats. This would have been very well if we had had troops to defend the creek through which she would have to pass, and then sink junks and man the breastwork already alluded to. We did not know that the rebels, with the Europeans, might not have had some heavy guns in the lake which might have destroyed her. This indeed turned out to be the case, for Burgevine, with the *Kajow* and a thirty-two-pounder (which had been taken at Taitsan from Captain Holland) in a large junk, having heard it likely that we were coming, was awaiting our arrival. Of course Burgevine had

first-rate means of knowing our movements from his friend Barclay de Tolly, with whom he was in correspondence. This man, utterly useless in every way, had lately left the force and acted as a sort of agent; and having been so lately with the force, and knowing all the officers, had abundant means of obtaining information.

Major Gordon having stopped General Ching's proposed excursion, returned with the *Firefly* and *Cricket* steamers to Quinsan, leaving the *Hyson* at Ta Edin, where General Ching had his stockades. That restless little man, however, could not remain quiet till the weather got cooler, but began to get ready to advance his stockades to Waiquaidong, which he did on the 30th August, being assisted by the *Firefly* and *Hyson*. The rapidity with which these stockades were thrown up is perfectly marvellous, and the position he chose was first-rate. In three days' time, in spite of the feeble attacks of the rebels, he had them completed, staked, and armed.

General Brown arrived (12th September) two days after the Futai had left for Chanzu, and wrote to the latter to inform him that he was going up immediately to Pekin, and that he had advised Major Gordon to remain on the defensive till his return, which might be in three weeks, the object of his visit being to see if the force could be put on some better footing; for so precarious was its existence that Major Gordon did not feel himself justified in accepting the services of any officers from India, etc., as the force might

have ceased to exist when they arrived. The only guarantee that could be given was a monthly payment.

General Brown left 200 Beloochees under Captain Hogg with Major Gordon to overcome the discontented, who were very difficult to keep in order during peace times.[1]

[1] A result of this visit of General Brown to Quinsan was that he wrote an account of the events taking place there to Lord De Grey and Ripon. This is what he says—

"HEADQUARTERS, SHANGHAI, *3d September* 1863.

"I have the honour to state that since my arrival at Shanghai, clearly seeing the position of affairs with Major Gordon, his very critical situation—left entirely in the hands of men who were formerly in the pay of the Ward force and connected with Burgevine (who has already been tampering with some of the officers, and induced many to leave)—I trust that although no reason at present presents itself to cause me to doubt the fidelity of those still remaining, yet for the safety of Major Gordon in his command, and the still greater responsibility of the number of guns and munitions of war in his possession, furnished to the Futai at the express sanction of the British Government, I feel I may be compelled, if extreme danger presents itself, to depart from my instructions restricting officers going beyond the radius without reverting to half pay, and to sanction officers as volunteers joining the Ward force to lend every support to Major Gordon, granting them at the same time their full pay, in order to obtain their services. In this event—of its being necessary for me to adopt such a measure—I hope I may be justified in calling on Her Majesty's Government to support me in every way, when I must bring to notice the very circumstance, that should any treachery take place in Major Gordon's force, and his heavy park of artillery fall into the hands of the rebels, my position would be most critical to defend Shanghai—having no larger description of ordnance to contend against than which might be brought against me. I therefore hold it to be my first duty to guard against such a possibility; and it must further be borne in mind that as this garrison has been seriously reduced in strength by the loss of the 31st Regiment, a battery of Royal Artillery, and a wing of the 5th Bombay Native Infantry, I cannot be too watchful in adopting any steps to guard against my position being jeopardised in any

The Imperialists under Tso chetai, finding that they could not take Fuyang, sent for D'Aiquebelle and his Franco-Chinese, some 1500 men, who joined him about the end of August and captured a stockade near the west gate, seeing which the rebels vacated the city and fell back on the 8th September to Hangchow and Yuhang.

Osborne's flotilla were arriving duly at Shanghai in September; they were very fine vessels but too large for the interior, being more fitted for coasters. Finding that his men were deserting from his ships, he moved them up to Chefoo and went on to Pekin, where Lay already was debating on the terms on which Osborne was to serve.

The Imperialists captured on the 15th August the stone forts on the creek leading from the Metze-chan branch of Yangtze river to the west gate of Nankin, and were becoming daily more and more dangerous. Chung Wang received daily messages from Hangchow and Souchow, but the Tien Wang would not let him leave.

He at last agreed to let him go for forty days if he would pay down 100,000 taels (£30,000), which he

way. I may further add that Major Gordon is still at Quinsan watching the rebels at Souchow; and should circumstances allow me, it is my intention to proceed to Pekin to have an interview with Sir F. Bruce. Since writing the above I have received a report from Major Gordon, stating that Burgevine had taken up his abode with his followers at Souchow, a very large and important city, situated in a straight line on the Grand Canal, about fifteen miles from Quinsan; and so long as it is held in force by the rebels, and a rendezvous for all adventurers, Shanghai cannot be considered as secure from attack."

had to sell his jewels, etc., to do. Chung Wang left on the 20th September, and immediately after his departure the Imperialists captured the hill forts on the east of the city and afterwards their stockades to the walls of the city.

The She Wang or Attendant King (now at Amoy), who had come up from Che-kiang, fell back on Liyang, and Chung Wang went on to Souchow, where he arrived on the 28th September.

General Brown paid also a visit to Ching in his new stockades at Waiquaidong and made him agree to await his return.[1] There seemed but little doubt

[1] "In company with Major Gordon," writes General Brown, "I afterwards proceeded to visit the stockade of the Chinese General 'Ching,' posted about a mile and a half from, and facing the east front of Souchow, where Burgevine is now making his stand with the rebels. Souchow is a very large walled city, twelve miles in circumference, and will no doubt be stoutly defended, and, taking into account the host of rebels inside, and the number of followers known to be with Burgevine, I consider it would be rash in the extreme for Major Gordon to hazard an attack with his present small garrison, unsupported by Europeans, to lead an assault; for however well disciplined his Chinese may be, still they must always be led by Europeans to storm a breach, and in the present uncertainty of the course about to be pursued by the naval force under Commodore Sherard Osborne, who has proceeded to Pekin in order to have power conferred upon him to act in suppressing the rebellion, I have counselled Major Gordon to remain strictly on the defensive, and likewise the Chinese General 'Ching,' who has a fine body of men under his command, and his position I think well selected to hold out against any attack until support could be rendered him by Major Gordon. The position of that officer, however, requires my greatest consideration, from the small force to defend his garrison, and the great responsibility of a large park of artillery and munition of war in his possession; and from certain reliable information which I have obtained, Burgevine calculates upon this very weakness of Major Gordon to move out against him in force, deeming my instructions so binding that I could not venture out to his support, and in time might be able to subdue the garrison, and then to move on to Shanghai. To

that Commodore Osborne's demands would be granted, and therefore it was by far the most advisable course to wait, especially as the weather was still very warm.

Small circumstances caused momentous changes. The officers and men were, and had been, rather sickly, and Major Gordon thought that they would be better out of the city under canvas than cooped up in it. They were also very quarrelsome, and would be better in front of the enemy than doing nothing in the city. Silverthorn, commanding the 3d Regiment, was dismissed and the regiment broken up on account of misconduct. He considered also, that the distance (sixteen miles) from which Ching was from his support too great when the rebels had European advice and energy on their side, and also that there was considerable risk of their sweeping round Ching by the Yansingho lake, and occupying the latter's vacated stockades at Ta

meet such a crisis, and to relieve Major Gordon from any immediate danger, I have resolved to strengthen him at once, and to detach for that purpose 200 men of the 2d Beloochi battalion to garrison Quinsan, but not to move out, confining them simply to the defence of the city; moreover, so important do I consider Quinsan, in a strategical point of view, with a lofty hill rising to the very centre of the city, and commanding an uninterrupted view of thirty miles of country round, that it must, in my opinion, be held at all risks, as the greatest safety to Shanghai, and if supported by a movable column at Taitsan, no body of rebels could move from Souchow in any direction without being discovered.

"I venture, therefore, to hope that this course which I have adopted will be approved of, and the very circumstance of Burgevine and a number of followers having taken part with the rebels will warrant me in departing from my instructions."

Edin. He determined, therefore, to move up to Waiquaidong, and did so on the 22d September. Ching, that restless being, had, two days previous to this, moved his stockades some two miles nearer Souchow, and now was only some 1000 yards from the rebel stockades off the east gate or Low-mün.

It should have been mentioned before, that the general,[1] before leaving for Pekin, had decided on putting 200 Beloochees in Quinsan, to prevent any attempt on the siege train if Major Gordon had taken the field, and had sent up also the regiment of drilled Chinese, under Captain Kingsley. He sent, also, a field force to Taitsan. The disciplined Franco-Chinese, under Captain Bonnefoy, I.N., arrived at the same time as these troops. They consisted of from 300 to 500 infantry and artillery, and were well drilled and officered. Their commander was a capital officer, and admirably fitted for his place. Throughout all the operations he acted with Major Gordon with the utmost cordiality, and his men did good service. They moved out of Quinsan at the same time as the Quinsan force, and encamped at Waiquaidong.

After remaining some days inactive, Major Gordon employing his time in reconnoitring the country between Waiquaidong and Patachiao, it was agreed with Ching that Kahpoo was too far distant to admit of much assistance being given from

[1] General Brown.

Waiquaidong if a strong attack was made on it, and also that the rebel possession of Patachiao gave them an outlet by which they could at any time debouch into the lake district towards Shanghai and cut off boats coming that way. Major Gordon, therefore, determined on attacking it; and, as it was so near the city that strong reinforcements might be expected to be sent out, he started with the 1st and 2d Regiments and artillery with the *Hyson* and *Firefly*, and the French force and some 1000 Imperialists, on the night of the 28th September, and, striking across the lake by compass bearing, reached the entrance of the creek leading to Patachiao at dawn. The night and morning were very wet, and the rebels appeared quite innocent of our approach.

About 10 P.M., 29th September, we came up to the stockades, there being two on the right bank and the original stone fort on the opposite side of the canal, which had been taken before. About 200 men were landed 600 yards from the nearest stockade, which was built on the edge of the creek, close to the ruins of a village. The steamers opened fire. The 200 men, partly of 1st Regiment and partly Franco-Chinese, were directed to get into the ruined houses in rear of the stockades, and thus threaten their retreat, which they had no sooner done than the rebels vacated all their stockades and fled towards the city; the loss was eleven wounded. The *Hyson* pursued them for some distance up the

Grand Canal and met the rebel reinforcements coming with Mow Wang and his Europeans from the city. These latter made a bold attack to close on the *Hyson*, but were driven off with loss, and we then retired into the stockades. They had much strengthened their position since our last visit, and it is incomprehensible why they made such a feeble stand. The wet weather and our night movements had evidently led them to anticipate no attack. Burgevine himself was at Shanghai, and had had a narrow escape of being captured the very night we had moved from Waiquaidong. He arrived at Souchow on the 1st October.[1]

It may be asked how it was that Burgevine had remained so long inactive; why he had not, firstly, stopped or made some greater effort to stop the advance of Ching's stockades; why he had not done something to save Kongyin (which, by the way, had evacuated, on the 18th September), a city of very great importance to the rebels, being on a large creek leading from Wusieh to the Yangtze river, and a port for the reception of stores, etc., from Hongkong or Shanghai, and where neither the British nor this force could have molested him; why he had not taken steps for the security of Patachiao, a place open to attack, and most important to the rebels to keep, inasmuch as when in our possession

[1] Rhode, one of the officers who left Major Gordon in May 1863, had been sent to Kwosungling with two howitzers in July. Kwosungling was an Imperialist leader of 8000 men. Rhode remained with him as adviser with two or three other Europeans.

we could safely use the Kahpoo communication with the Taiho lake.

The officers who were with Burgevine say that he was absent when Kongyin was attacked, and that Mow Wang seemed secure on the subject of its being held.[1] That Chung Wang was expected daily from Nankin, with some 40,000 men, and that then they would circumvent Ching, and therefore viewed his advance with pleasure; and that they knew little of Patachiao till it was lost. The fact is, that the only man of energy or intellect among the party was Captain Jones of the *Kajow*, and he had, unfortunately for the rebels, gone with Burgevine. It is no hardship to Burgevine to describe him, as Lord Naas did, as "a man of large promises but of few works." His popularity was great among a certain class. He was extravagent in his generosity, and as long as he had anything would divide it with his so-called friends, but never was a man of any administrative or military talent; and, latterly, through the irritation caused by his unhealed wound and other causes, he was subject to violent paroxysms of anger which rendered precarious the safety of any man who tendered to him advice that might be distasteful. He was extremely sensitive of his dignity, and held

[1] Burgevine went to Shanghai from Souchow after his visit to Nankin, and arranged for a cargo of arms, for which he received large sums from the Mow Wang. He was nearly captured by the *Amoy* steamer, Captain Solway, of Osborne's flotilla, and came up to Souchow without the arms on the 1st October, much to Mow Wang's rage.

a higher position in Souchow than any foreigner did before.

On the 30th September, everything seeming quiet, Major Gordon sent back the 2d Regiment and most of the artillery, keeping a twenty-four-pounder howitzer mounted on a slide and two four and two-fifth-inch howitzers. The French force — 400 men — remained. The *Hyson* also returned to Waiquaidong the next day. There was a little skirmishing, which resulted in our driving back the rebels. But on the morning of the 1st October the funnel of a steamer was perceived near the Patachiao bridge, which spans the Grand Canal close to its junction with the city ditch, and where the rebels had a large stone fort. This, with a large assemblage of boats at that spot, was at least suspicious, and soon after two Europeans, one of them being recognised as Captain Jones of the *Kajow*, came down towards the stockades and scanned our defences with their glasses.

Major Gordon went along the road with fifty men to see what was being done, and ordered up at the same time the two four and two-fifth-inch howitzers, which were in gunboats, and the twenty-four-pounder howitzer, also in boat. About 1500 yards from the bridge the latter opened fire, and a few minutes after the rebels sent a thirty-two-pounder shot close to the party. This did not look agreeable, and so the boats and men retired. Before they got back the *Hyson* arrived from Wai-

quaidong and joined the party, and fired one or two shots. This was at 1 P.M.

The rebels answered from a thirty-two-pounder in a boat, and from one or two twelve-pounders, making too good practice to justify the *Hyson* remaining any longer exposed, so the whole party withdrew to the stockade. The rebels now showed in force on both flanks, and their steamer and boats advanced down the canal, firing as they came. They made capital practice. The main stockade or fort we occupied was closed at the real gorge, now the front, by a comparatively thin wall, which if struck by the shot would have caused as many casualties as a shell. The stockade was also crowded with the 350 men of the 1st Regiment, so 200 men were ordered over to the other bank. The rebels advanced well with their boats, but their infantry did not venture up; and about 4 P.M. Major Gordon arranged with the French commandant (Bonnefoy) to make a sortie from both stockades, which was accordingly done, and the rebels fell back.[1]

Thus ended the only attack we had on our stockades by the Europeans, which, if it had been well supported, might in our somewhat unprepared state have been successful. Our twenty-four-pounder howitzer got disabled in the action, and we had only the two four and two-fifth-inch howitzers to oppose the heavier metal of the

[1] Chung Wang and Mow Wang were both present in these attacks.

rebels, whose practice was excellent. That night Major Gordon sent for more artillery and another regiment. It appears that Burgevine and his officers and men came down with the intention of making a night attack, but thought better of it. Their party was seen, and two or three three-pounder rockets were fired at them, one of them striking Burgevine's pony. The next day passed quietly, and the reinforcements arrived.

Major Tumblety, who commanded the 1st Regiment in the stone stockade, deserved a great deal of credit for his conduct on this occasion. The day after the arrival of the reinforcements the loose brickwork wall was partially taken down, and the whole of the work much strengthened. The rebels contented themselves with throwing up breastworks along their front. The French force returned the same day to Waiquaidong, as Major Gordon had given up all idea of proceeding farther till the Futai could send more troops, and till General Brown's return from Pekin.

It is now necessary to return to General Ching, who had heard of these negotiations but thought them too dilatory for his restless mind. The whole of the Quinsan troops had, since this affair of Burgevine, been moved up to Patachiao, with the exception of some 300 left to occupy Waiquaidong. Ching was now most absurdly anxious to take one of the rebel stockades in front of the north gate, and wished to borrow a steamer to support him;

but his request was not granted, as the capture of these stockades could be of no earthly use at the present time, and any attack made at the north gate would take the Europeans away from the Patachiao bridge to repulse it, and thus break off the negotiations; besides which we received reports that the rebels were within two miles south of Wokong in large force, and that the garrison of that city, which was under the charge of General Ching, was deficient in men and provisions.

Ching had sent down an alarming rumour, that he was liable to attack on the morning of the 13th October, and begged the loan of the *Firefly*, which Major Gordon sent, with strict orders to remain on the defensive, and not to assist Ching in any way in his attacks. Major Gordon had written on the previous day to Commandant Bonnefoy, who, with his Franco-Chinese force, was at Waiquaidong, asking him to afford assistance to Ching *in case of attack* from the rebels. Ching, however, was obstinate, and made his attack on two breastworks near the north-east angle of the city, 7th October, which he took; but he did not even attempt the larger stockades, and had to vacate the breastworks soon after. However, his attack had just the effect Major Gordon had foreseen.

Chung Wang ordered the steamers and boats round to the north side, and determined to issue out and retake Chanzu, which was denuded of troops, and mostly protected by some stockades at

Tongku and Tajouka, held by the troops of Wang Tetai.

Major Gordon had started to reconnoitre the approaches for Wulungchow from the lake on the afternoon of the 11th, and on his return found that "Cockeye" or Ling Wang had taken charge of the troops in front of Patachiao. This Wang was a most energetic fellow; he had resisted the various attempts against Shoushing, and was well known among us by repute. He began his command by moving his men down to the edge of the creek leading from Quinsan and Waiquaidong, and firing into the boats that were passing, caused some confusion, until the *Hyson* moved down and graped his men out of range of the banks. He then commenced making a breastwork down to the point, which, if completed, would have obliged us to have occupied the ground with a stockade. Mr. Chapman came up from Shanghai bringing letters from Sir F. Bruce and Commodore Osborne, the latter asking him to serve under him. Major Gordon brought back the news that Wokong was in a sorry plight. The garrison had only three days' provisions, and they had been dispirited in a repulse on the previous day (10th October), when they lost some 300 killed and wounded. The former consequently determined to start the next day to relieve Wokong, and accordingly at dusk on the 12th October he started with the 2d Regiment.

He arrived at the south-east angle of Wokong

at 8 A.M. on the 13th, and found the rebels entrenched some 1500 yards from the Imperialists. Having, with difficulty, persuaded them to open the gates of their stockades, the troops advanced in boats, all but 150 men, who were landed on the west bank.

Now commenced one of the hardest fights the force had ever had. The rebels having their rear open, fought with desperation, and it was three hours before we dislodged them, having been forced to move the guns up the canal to within forty yards of their works without the rebels leaving. The latter kept up a hot and well-directed fire, and were well furnished with firearms. Even after the capture of the first stockade they made signs of holding on to the second, and even to the third and fourth.

Our loss was heavier than at any place we had hitherto fought, being ten killed and thirty-five wounded. Three officers were wounded. We pursued them ten miles—to within three miles of Pingwang—and then returned. They made stands at two positions on this road, but evacuated them on the approach of the guns. The rebels here fought better than we had expected, and certainly astonished Commodore Osborne's secretary, who had come up to see Major Gordon. They were commanded by our old friend Wai Wang, the head man of Taitsan, the only chief who could really boast of having repulsed our troops, and, being composed of the troops of the

silk districts, were unaccustomed to be beaten, and were well provided with arms. Our victory was fruitless, as the mandarin garrison of Wokong, some 4000 men, were afraid to remain out to destroy the breastworks, etc., the rebels had thrown up, and they consequently retired on our return, and shut the gates of their stockades again. The troops returned the same day to Patachiao.

This fight was one of the most hardly fought of any of our encounters, except Taitsan, and cost us as much as all the others put together. The rebel earthworks were not strong, but their tenacity in holding them was very great. That same evening, viz. the 13th, Major Gordon received a visit from Major Morton and Captain Smith, who commanded the artillery in Souchow. They came down, at Burgevine's suggestion, to arrange the coming over of the whole party, and they agreed to come down the creek the next day at 3 P.M., or at the latest the morning after at daybreak. They both appeared rather embarrassed, and stated that they had been out with Chung Wang, and had a great many of their men wounded, and that among them was Captain Jones. They said also that Chung Wang had gone off to Chanzu, and that the *Kajow* steamer was destroyed.

We must now return to General Ching, who, utterly regardless of the risk he had run at Wokong of losing the city, was intent on attacking one of the stockades in front of the east gate or Low-mün, and

unfortunately persuaded the French commandant Bonnefoy to assist him with his force. They commenced the attack on the morning of the 14th October, and were repulsed with heavy loss. This obstinacy of General Ching nearly led to the breaking off of the negotiations with the Europeans, for these latter, as will be seen from their statements, were ordered round to the east gate or Low-mün, to repel the further attacks of the Imperialists. Mow Wang was wounded slightly in the defence of his stockades.

Morton was given the 3d Regiment, now reconstructed, having been broken up in August for the misconduct of Silverthorn. The new 3d Regiment consisted of Kingsley's men, late rebels of Wokong and Quinsan. Jones was given the *Tsatlee* steamer.

On the afternoon of the 14th Major Gordon made the feint agreed on by himself and Morton, but it was unattended by any results. The next morning, at 7 A.M. (15th October), the feint was renewed, and the troops, with the two steamers *Hyson* and *Firefly*, moved up towards the city. The rebels seemed quite taken by surprise, and fired very little. The Europeans, some seven officers and twenty-six men in number, came down on our left flank, and were met and taken down to the stockade at Patachiao. The rebels seeing them fraternise with us opened fire, which, though accurate, was harmless. The troops then retired, although there is little doubt that, if the commanding officer had

wished, the fort at Medochiao might have been taken easily. Burgevine and Smith were not with the party that came out.

Frequent skirmishes between the force and the rebels took place, in one of which Captain Chapman was wounded.

The troops used to drill on the ground in front of their stockades, which was perfectly level, and the rebels would come out and attack them, when a regular skirmish would ensue. They used to crowd on the walls to watch the battalions drilling.

On arriving at the stockades the officers and men were well received, and the arms, some fifteen or sixteen Enfield rifles, taken from the men. A boat containing a wounded officer also came out with the party. Major Gordon made arrangements with the different officers, and took some into the force. Those who wished then went down to Shanghai in the *Firefly* steamer. Among the men who came out was a Frenchman, Henri Labourix, who when asked if he was a deserter, replied in the negative. He said he had been some four years with the rebels, and had been with Chung Wang; that he had obtained his *congé* from the French service; and that he had been shipwrecked near Nankin and taken prisoner. He wanted to go to the French force, so Major Gordon gave him fifty dollars, and sent him with a letter to Monsieur Bonnefoy. The men who had come out of Souchow, and who were taken on, were sent to Quinsan to be fitted out with clothes,

etc. Mr. Mayers,[1] of Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, had been up with Major Gordon during the

[1] Mr. Mayers, who was acting as interpreter, gives a most interesting account of the whole affair, including that of a cowardly plan to entrap Gordon.

"On reaching Major Gordon's position at the stockades of Patachiao, on the Grand Canal, some 2800 yards from the south-east angle of Souchow, on the 8th instant," he says, "I found that further communications, in addition to those announced in Major Gordon's letters of the 2d instant, had passed between Burgevine and Jones, the two principal leaders, and upon my being able to give the assurance that all ulterior measures would be renounced by the Futai, as also that, on your own part and that of the United States Consul the arrangements made by Major Gordon would, without doubt, be respected, there seemed every reason to hope that the surrender of the whole foreign force, together with the steamer *Kajow*, would be effected immediately under cover of a false attack on the rebels to be made by Gordon's force.

"The position of affairs at this moment may be shortly described as follows:—Major Gordon's position on the Grand Canal at Patachiao, which he captured on the 28th of September, completely cut off the rebels from water communication on the south-east, whilst it afforded a base of operation along the whole of the south and east fronts of the city. The communication eastward, in the direction of Kwen-shan (Quinsan) and Taitsang, was barred by the Imperial general Ching, who with a force of about 10,000 excellent troops, occupied a chain of strongly fortified earthworks (stockades) stretching in a line, at a distance from the city wall of about 1600 yards, from the east gate towards the north-east angle. The north and west fronts of Souchow alone remained free from blockade; and whilst on the north communication remained open with Wusieh and Nankin, on the west the passage was free, by the Taiho lake, to Hoochow, Kia-hing, and Hangchow. The only Imperialist force, in addition to that of General Ching and the 3000 drilled troops under Major Gordon, was a large squadron of Chinese gunboats, lately arrived from the Yangtze, commanded by Admiral Li, which were doing useful service in the vicinity of Patachiao.

"It is necessary that I should here remark upon the impetuosity and deafness to all counsel or remonstrance which characterise Ching, and have been, from the first, both serious obstacles to Major Gordon, and of frequent detriment to the Imperial cause.

"On the night of the 8th instant an interview took place between Burgevine, with his comrade Jones, and Major Gordon; and on this occasion the former placed himself unreservedly in Major Gordon's

greater part of these negotiations, and had afforded great assistance to that officer.

hands, agreeing to surrender, if possible, on the following day, with the steamer *Kajow* and all his force, bringing out rebel hostages, if necessary, for the safety of any of the foreigners who might be left behind within the walls. Burgevine, however, even whilst arranging with Major Gordon the agreement in question (assigning as his reasons for leaving the rebel service his dissatisfaction with their treatment of himself and the failure of his hopes generally), still displayed the extravagance and obliquity of his nature in a proposition that Major Gordon should desert the Imperialist service with his force, whilst he simultaneously left the rebels with his own followers, and that both should join in an independent career of conquest. The indignation with which Major Gordon received this wild and insulting notion probably acted as a last argument in convincing Burgevine of the uselessness of his struggle, and impelled him to take advantage of the amnesty obtained for himself and his followers by Major Gordon's exertions.

"Arrangements were made, as I have stated, for the surrender of the Burgevine party on the 9th instant, under cover of a false attack to be made by Major Gordon's troops on the south front of Souchow; but the obstinacy of the Imperial general Ching led to the defeat of this plan. He persisted in advancing during the 8th and 9th instant against some small stockades held by the rebels near the north gate, and early on the morning of the 9th instant the foreigners, with the *Kajow* steamer, were ordered away to resist his attack. Whilst Gordon's false attack remained, of course, without the expected result, the foreigners were advanced against Ching, who would, they assert, have been defeated, and probably captured, had not an obstruction in the channel of the creek hindered the progress of the *Kajow*. On the evening of this day the above particulars were communicated by Jones, who was sent by Burgevine to Major Gordon for this purpose. The surrender was thus deferred, and meanwhile the rebel chiefs determined upon leading the steamer and their foreign auxiliaries to attack certain positions of the Imperial troops engaged in beleaguering Wusieh, at a distance of between fifteen or twenty miles. I have strong reason for believing that even at this moment had a temporary success occurred, bringing Burgevine into greater favour with the rebel chiefs, both himself and many of his followers would have repudiated their engagement to surrender, and would have continued the struggle. I have in fact been given to understand that serious discussions took place on his proposing to Jones a plan for entrapping Gordon, even subsequently to the night of the 8th instant; but the more straightforward nature of his companion revolted against this proposal, and from this time a coolness appears to have existed between the two,

until Burgevine's irritation, or else, as is suggested, his excessive indulgence in liquor, led him to attempt the life of Jones, and to threaten that of several others, on the 12th instant. The recital of this incident, as well as of the fate of the *Kajow* steamer, and the various movements which delayed the final event, will be found in detail in the accounts given by the various members of the force who returned with me yesterday to Shanghai, and who requested during the passage that I would take down their voluntary statements for publication.

"During the interval of suspense caused by the withdrawal of the *Kajow* and the foreign party to the north side of the city, intelligence arrived (at about 7 P.M. of the 12th instant) confirming certain vague reports already received during the day, to the effect that the city of Wu Kiang (Wokong), about twelve miles south of Patachiao, which was recaptured by Major Gordon, and handed over to the Imperialists in July last, was in serious danger from an attack by large bands of rebels, who had suddenly invested the place and defeated that morning, with very heavy loss, the Imperial garrison. About 500 men of Major Gordon's force, with some artillery, were at this moment about to embark for the purpose of attacking a strong position near Souchow on the following morning; but their course was immediately changed, and Major Gordon left at midnight with this force for the purpose of relieving Wokong. This he effected next day by entirely defeating the rebels, who, to the number of from 20,000 to 30,000 men, had been hurried up from Kia-hing-fu, by order of the Chang Wang, for the purpose of taking Wokong, and thus threatening Gordon's rear. They were to have been joined by a force of 30,000 men from Hu-chow-fu, but these, owing to the greater distance, had fortunately not arrived when Major Gordon fell upon the stockades which had been erected, and after three hours' most determined fighting at length drove the entire force to retreat, with severe loss. The stockades (as I learned from one of the rebel leaders who was wounded and made prisoner) were held by from 5000 to 7000 of the best of the rebel troops, who thrice reinforced the works and possessed about 2000 foreign muskets. In the absence of steamers the action was, I believe, somewhat critical; but the works were at length carried, chiefly, I was assured, through the determined gallantry of Major Gordon himself. The incapacity of the Imperial authorities has never been more apparent than in connection with this affair. Although the rebels had been for five days in close proximity to Wokong, no intimation of any kind was sent by either the civil or military officials to Major Gordon, and the information that was eventually received was rather accidental than otherwise. The Imperial general Ching had, indeed, been apprised of the danger, as a detachment of his troops formed the garrison of Wokong, but he withheld all knowledge of it from Major Gordon. He had previously been urged on several occasions to cause the removal of three bridges crossing the Grand Canal which prevent the passage of steamers to Wokong, but had taken no notice of the

request, and in consequence the assistance of the steamers were not available either in the attack on the stockades or in the subsequent pursuit of the rebels. I had an instance of this commander's impracticable nature during the same day, as I proceeded, at Major Gordon's request, to his lines fronting the east gate, for the purpose of requesting him not to employ a steamer which had been lent to him in a fruitless attack on the rebel position. Although listening with courtesy to my representations, based principally upon the paramount importance of securing the surrender of the foreigners before taking steps which might cause them to be involved in further hostilities, Ching remained unmoved in his determination to attack a point held by the rebels, and on the following day his resolution to this effect ended in a serious defeat. His force, including the Chinese drilled by a French officer, M. Bonnefoy, to the number of 200, were repulsed with a loss of about 50 killed and 200 wounded. I have subsequently learnt from the Imperial Commissioner himself that at this very time so little comprehension had Ching of Major Gordon's character, that he wrote expressing doubts lest the latter should be contemplating a treasonable junction with Burgevine and the rebels.

"Passing over other details, I come to the morning of the 15th, when, at 7 A.M., such portion of the foreign party as were enabled to make good their escape were received, amid a heavy fire from the rebels, by Major Gordon under cover of his troops and steamers, and gladly gave themselves up. The narrative of their previous movements will be found in the statements prepared by their leaders, of whom eight, with twenty-six men, formed the party thus recovered. Burgevine, with some forty others, remained within the city, and their fate is as yet unknown. The leaders were all natives or naturalised citizens of the United States, but the men, who presented a most pitiable appearance, worn, tattered, and sickly-looking, were of eight nationalities. I append lists of both officers and men. Nearly all were armed with rifles, and some attempt had been made to teach them drill; but the great majority were sailors who had been induced by false representations to proceed to Souchow, with no idea as to the service they were actually intended for. The greatest part of these men volunteered to remain with Major Gordon; the remainder, with the leaders, were sent to Shanghai in the steamer *Firefly*, by which I arrived yesterday morning.

"It appears that the total number, all told, of Burgevine's force was never higher than 103, to which may be added twelve foreigners who were in Souchow, previous to his arrival there. If the statements of his followers may be trusted, he imagined himself capable with this force, and with such rebel troops as might be confided to him, to create a diversion in the northern provinces, if not to retrieve the positions already lost in this vicinity. The reasons for his failure are touched upon in the statement made by Captain Jones, who does not, however, take into account the still more certain cause existing in the inevitable

dissensions among the leaders, and the unmanageable nature of the men composing the force. It is evident, moreover, that Burgevine counted upon a far larger measure of confidence on the part of the rebel chiefs than he actually enjoyed at any time. Whether their failure to support his extensive views arose from a clear insight into his actual character, or, as his late followers suggest, from inability to appreciate foreign assistance, I do not pretend to decide."

V

It is necessary to explain Burgevine's absence, and for this to describe the movements of Chung Wang. It appears this Wang, with his European contingent, started from Souchow on the 9th October, and reached Leeku, then held by the rebels, on the 10th, thence proceeding to Wanti; but finding he could not pass with the steamer the bridge there, he went down towards the Grand Canal, and turned up a side creek leading into the main creek, which forms the chief communication from the Grand Canal at Monding to Chanzu. Near this junction were the Imperial stockades around Tajouka under Chew, a mandarin who had joined the Imperialists from Taitsan, as before stated. These stockades were supported by the gunboats of Wang Tetai, a mandarin of high rank—in fact, the admiral of the province.

Chung Wang approached them on the 12th, and the Europeans, with their steamer and thirty-two-pounder gun, moved up the main stream and attacked the Imperial gunboats lying in front of the stockade, taking sixteen of them, and one boat loaded with

powder. They then pushed on to the stockade, and after opening a heavy fire on it, attempted to assault it. They appear to have been badly supported by the rebels, for although they reached the ditch of the work they could not take it. At this moment some powder which had been improvidently left under the twelve-pounder howitzer in the bows of the *Kajow* blew up, and wounded some men and officers. The explosion opened the bows of the steamer, and she rapidly began to sink. She was moved a little way down, and then sank in shoal water. The wounded were taken out of her, and put, sad to relate, in the boat filled with powder, which by some accident blew up soon after, killing and wounding a great many more men. The rest got away without difficulty, and were sent back with the captured gunboats to Souchow by Chung Wang. The statements of the various officers describe the remainder of the affair.

On the 16th October Bonnefoy came to Patachiao, and brought back Labourix, who, it appears, was a French deserter. He told Major Gordon he wanted to leave the country, and the latter gave him 100 dollars, and sent him down to Shanghai. The scamp went and got five more men, and went up again to Souchow, but was shot through the abdomen at the night attack of the 29th November, and killed.

Major Gordon had written to Mow Wang on the

15th October,[1] telling him that he would cause great opprobrium if he injured Burgevine or the other Europeans who remained, or if he detained them against their will. This letter was stuck on a pole

[1] The following is a copy of his letter :—

"To their Excellencies Chang Wang, Mow Wang.

"You must be already aware that I have on all occasions, when it lay in my power, been merciful to your soldiers when taken prisoners, and not only been so myself, but have used every endeavour to prevent the Imperial authorities from practising any inhumanity. Ask for the truth of this statement any of the men who were taken at Wokong, and who, some of them, must have returned to Souchow, as I placed no restriction on them whatever.

"Having stated the above, I now ask your Excellencies to consider the case of the Europeans in your service. In every army each soldier must be actuated with faithful feelings to fight well. A man made to fight against his will is not only a bad soldier, but he is a positive danger, causing anxiety to his leaders, and absorbing a large force to prevent his defection. If there are many Europeans left in Souchow, I would ask your Excellencies if it does not seem to you much better to let these men quietly leave your service if they wish it; you would thereby get rid of a continual source of suspicion, gain the sympathy of the whole of the foreign nations, and feel that your difficulties are all from without. Your Excellencies may think that decapitation would soon settle the matter, but you would then be guilty of a crime which will bear its fruits sooner or later. In this force officers and men come and go at pleasure, and although it is inconvenient at times, I am never apprehensive of treason from within. Your Excellencies may rely on what I say, that should you behead the Europeans who are with you, or retain them against their free will, you will eventually regret it. The men have committed no crime, and they have done you good service, and what they have tried to do, viz. escape, is nothing more than any man, or even animal, will do when placed in a situation he does not like.

"The men could have done you great harm, as you will no doubt allow; they have not done so, and I consider that your Excellencies have reaped great benefit from their assistance. As far as I am personally concerned, it is a matter of indifference whether the men stay or leave; but as a man who wishes to save these unfortunate men, I intercede.

"Your Excellencies may depend you will not suffer by letting these men go; you need not fear their communicating information. I knew your force, men and guns, long ago, and therefore care not to get that information from them. If my entreaties are unavailing for these men

in front of our advance, and was soon seen by the rebels and taken into the city. A Chinese letter to the same effect was sent the next day (16th October). An officer (Louis Wilson) of Burgevine's force came down from the city with a letter from Mow Wang to Major Gordon, complaining that gunboats and arms had been taken away by Morton and the others, and saying Burgevine was free to go with all his followers. Wilson also brought a note from Burgevine, requesting Major Gordon to send back the gunboats, arms, etc., and to send him some medicine. Major Gordon sent back an answer to Mow Wang, returning the arms and boat that had been taken, and thanking him for his kindness, etc. He also sent him back a pony, with English saddle and bridle, and wrote to Burgevine, sending the rough Chinese copy of his letter to Mow Wang, in order that the latter might see that he had not recommended that Burgevine's head should be cut off. Lynch and several other men who were wounded came down to Shanghai by Nankin by boat. *Vide* Burgevine's statement.

Wilson said that the rebels had been much put out at the foreigners leaving. Major Gordon sent Wilson back with the letters and the pony, and with the boat and arms.

in . . . yourself by sending down the wounded, and perform an action never to be regretted.

"I write the above with my own hand, as I do not wish to entrust the matter to a linguist; and trusting you will accede to my request, I conclude, your Excellencies' obedient servant,

"C. G. GORDON."

About 3.30 P.M., on the 18th October, a great display of orange-coloured flags, etc., were seen at the Medo-chiao Port, and then three volleys of musketry. We fired in answer an eight-inch shell and twenty-four-pounder howitzer shell, which burst over the party and caused some movement among them. All at once a European came down towards the Patachiao stockade, who announced that Mow Wang had sent out Burgevine. This was Wilson. Burgevine arrived soon after, and he went down to Shanghai in the *Hyson* steamer. Wilson remained that night in our camp. He brought Major Gordon a letter from Mow Wang, and said the latter was delighted at the present of the pony. He went back on the morning of the 19th October to Souchow, with the intention of getting away when he could. It would have been bad policy to have kept Wilson, as he promised Mow Wang to come back.

Thus ended this, to Major Gordon a most important affair, and the relief he experienced was very great. The whole negotiations were looked on by most of his officers with distrust, and the Chinese authorities did not disguise their doubts even of Major Gordon's loyalty. It would be impossible to mention here the numerous ways Burgevine and his party had of obtaining advantages over the force.[1] Captain

[1] It is interesting to note the Futai Li Hung Chung's views of the whole affair. He gave expression to them on 18th November 1863 in a letter to the United States Acting Consul, Mr. Markham. It thus runs :—

Davidson of the *Hyson* was perfectly true; but the same was not to be said of all. Our opinion

"The Futai has to address the Consul with regard to Burgevine, on whose behalf the Tsung-Ping Gordon heretofore interceded, representing that he was repentant of his transgression in having entered the rebel service at Souchow, and requesting that, as he had now escaped and been sent back to Shanghai, no further proceedings might be pressed against him. The Futai hereupon, animated by a sentiment of consideration, did not insist upon the infliction of the heavy penalty incurred, but wrote calling upon the American Consul to deport him, with all promptness, to his own country, restraining him at the same time from ever returning to China, in order that no further trouble may be occasioned, and that the good fame of Americans be maintained. The Honourable Consul was also simultaneously desired to communicate to the American Consul to that end.

"A reply was hereupon received from the American Consul, stating that he was aware that Burgevine would never do any good in Shanghai, and that he should receive immediate injunctions to return to his own country. The Honourable Consul also replied, stating that he would speak with Mr. Seward on this subject. Subsequently, when the Honourable Consul, with his colleagues visited the Futai, the latter took the opportunity of personally urging that Burgevine should be deported, in order that troubles be guarded against, and friendly relations cemented; whereupon the American Consul promised in person that he would act accordingly, adding that as soon as Burgevine's wound should be somewhat healed, he would at once send him home, and report the fact to the Futai. Many days having, however, elapsed, and no such report being received announcing the date of Burgevine's departure, the Futai was on the point of making further inquiry, when, on the 15th instant, he suddenly received information that the steamer *Firefly* had been seized, in the captain's absence, by confederates of Burgevine, and carried off to Souchow. Before, actually, the Futai had given credence to this report, the officer in charge of his steamer, the *Firefly*, notified him that Burgevine, accompanied by two foreigners, had forcibly made his way on board the steamer, stating that he wanted to go up in her to Souchow; and further, that he had despatched a black man to Hongkow, with the intention, it was suspected, of collecting a band of desperadoes to seize the steamer, and carry her off for sale to the rebels at Souchow. Further, that at midnight three foreigners had actually come up in a boat and attempted to force their way on board the steamer, but were resisted by the military force on board, upon which Burgevine came from the cabin, and tried to find a knife for the purpose of cutting the steamer's hawser, and setting her adrift; and on an attempt being

was, that if Burgevine had made up his mind to go to the rebels, he had had no apparent reason for

made to stop him by the linguist Chao-chih Kwang, he broke into violence and attacked the linguist, upon whom he inflicted a wound bringing blood, and further struck with his fists the officer and soldiers on board the steamer.

"The Futai was overwhelmed with astonishment on the receipt of the foregoing report. Burgevine already by his enlisting with the banditti at Souchow had committed an offence of such magnitude, that whether judged by Chinese or foreign law, he had equally incurred the penalty of death. It was obviously the duty of the American Consul to inflict a fitting punishment, without waiting to be called on by any one to do so; whilst the Futai, for his part, acted with a leniency really beyond the ordinary bounds in refraining from measures of extremity when he gave himself up, on repentance of his transgression, and in simply calling on his Consul to prevent further mischief, by sending him out of the country. The Consul having engaged to do this, how is it that he neither kept him under surveillance nor deported him, so that Burgevine has been allowed to be at large, and to work mischief in Shanghai?

"With regard to his attempt again to reach Souchow, and his forcing his way on board the Futai's steamer, and his violent attempt to carry her off, the Futai has to observe that he believes the crime of piracy to be dealt with among foreign nations with even greater severity than that of joining the banditti in China; and there is the clearest testimony from a multitude of witnesses to prove that Burgevine, on his joining the banditti at Souchow, seized and carried off the *Kaochiao* steamer from the Sungkiong creek. This, indeed, is admitted even by Burgevine himself; but on the ground of his having made voluntary submission, he has not been called to account for past offences. Now, however, he still shows himself insensible of contrition. General Gordon's steamer, the *Firefly*, is carried off at midnight of the 14th by twenty or thirty foreign desperadoes, and on the day after, Burgevine, with the American Townsend and others, board the *Firefly*. Whilst deceitfully stating that he wanted to take passage in her to Souchow, he privily called together a band of his confederates, for the purpose of seizing the vessel; and hereupon Townsend came to the Futai's camp with a statement of these facts. There can thus, apparently, be no doubt that the seizure of the steamer *Firefly* on the previous day must have been accomplished by a gang acting under Burgevine's direction.

"Actions such as these are truly beyond the pale of human nature.

"The Futai is aware that vagabonds of foreign nationalities at Shanghai are subject to the control of their respective Consuls, as

leaving them. He was in no ways pressed, and might at any rate have waited till Sherard Osborne had appeared in the field. If he had waited, he would have seen this fleet sent home by the Imperial Government. There is but little doubt that the defection of the Europeans did the rebels great

regards the power of arresting and keeping them in order. But if their Consuls take no notice of them whatever, and leave them at liberty to seize and carry off Chinese vessels, then, for the future, when Chinese offenders commit acts of piracy on foreign merchant ships, the Chinese authorities might similarly decline to take up the matter. To what results could such proceedings lead?

"The Futai handed Burgevine over to the American Consul, with the request that he would keep him under surveillance and proceed to bring him to trial; and the Consul hereupon called upon him and stated personally that he would for the future restrain Burgevine from further mischief, and not allow him to go a step beyond the foreign settlement; and that as soon as there should be an American steamer on her way home he would send Burgevine away. The American Consul, however, has repeatedly given his promise to take a step of this kind, and yet has never been found to take any real action. His wish is undoubtedly to screen Burgevine, but his motives cannot be divined. At Shanghai, however, the trading mart of all nations, Chinese and foreign officials have long been connected in the administration of affairs, and the provisions of the treaties have hitherto been scrupulously adhered to on both sides, each mutually inculcating upon those respectively subject to their control the duty of orderly conduct. If now Burgevine, after the disturbances he has committed, be not dealt with in an equitable manner, and an united offer be not made to effect reform, numberless evils must accrue to both Chinese and foreign administration of public affairs.

"In addition, therefore, to again urging the American Consul to keep Burgevine in close custody, and to deport him without delay and also writing to a similar effect to the French Consul, the Futai has to communicate herewith with the Honourable Consul, whom he desires as speedily as possible to call upon Mr. Seward to deal with Burgevine with the stringency prescribed by law, and to deport him promptly to his native country, in order to remove a cause of disorders from the spot, and to maintain relations of harmony and goodwill.

"A most urgent communication.

"Tung-Chih, 2d year, 10th month, 8th day."

harm, for it naturally led them to think their chance of success not over good when their voluntary auxiliaries left them.

Burgevine had promised them great things, and had accomplished nothing. He had received large sums for the purchase of arms, and these had, by ill luck, been seized. All this, coupled with his paying no court to Chung Wang, a much higher personage than Mow Wang, and with his frequent interviews with us, caused the rebels to suspect him, and weakened his authority. Burgevine's joining and leaving the rebels has rendered the position of any man joining them very difficult, and certainly their chiefs will never again have confidence in any foreigners, as Mow Wang often said.

The latter was taunted by the other Wangs (whose troops had been somewhat neglected to the favour of the Europeans) at the collapse of his contingent, and naturally suspicious, thought that the funds he had sent to Shanghai had been made away with. A good officer in Burgevine's place would never have allowed Souchow to fall. As far as the officers who were under him were concerned it was the one opinion that they were perfectly right to leave so incapable a commander, under whose orders, in active operations, their lives were uselessly sacrificed, and who would, for some imaginary offence, draw weapons on them. It is well enough for outsiders to cry out that they were traitors. Most of these men had been deluded up to Sou-

chow in ignorance of their destination, and had been thoroughly deceived, not so much by the rebels as by their leader.

The departure of the Europeans from Souchow made a great change in the determination of Major Gordon, and induced him to take the offensive actively.

He sent back to Waiquaidong the 2d and 4th Regiments, and, applying to the Futai for additional troops to hold the Patachiao stockades, determined to take the Wulungchow stockades, distant some two miles to the west of Patachiao, and which commanded a passage from the Taiho lake into the city of Souchow at Pon-mün, or south gate. These stockades were at the junction of the large creek which leads from Patachiao to Wulungchow with the creek leading from the city to the Taiho lake. Accordingly the French force came up, and the 1st and 5th Regiments, with artillery and *Firefly*, started on the afternoon of the 20th October, and retracing their path towards Quinsan to mislead the rebels as to the movement, struck off by a side creek to Kahpoo, where they remained the night, which, by the way, was very wet. The troops were all in boats.

It had been arranged with General Ching, when our attack on the Wulungchow stockades had been well begun from the Taiho lake side, that he should advance with his gunboats from Patachiao, and attack the rebels from the other side, assisted by the

Hyson, but that this was not to take place until we had been some time engaged. The fifty-three arch bridge at Patachiao had been cleared for a steamer to pass, but in clearing it had been reduced to twenty-six arches. The bridge consisted of low arches leaning against one another, and the removal of the keystone of one caused the fall of the next, and so on till fortunately a stone pagoda in the middle of the bridge stopped the demolition of the twenty-seventh arch.[1]

To return to the expedition. We started again at 4 A.M., and, in spite of the rain, came up to Wulungchow about 8 A.M. Ching, however, restless as ever, had begun his attack at 5 A.M., and his fire had much slackened. The 1st Regiment and French force landed on the left bank, and were directed to turn the stockade, while the 5th Regiment advanced under fire of the steamer in their boats. After some ten minutes' firing, and before the columns had time to get round the flank, the rebels showed signs of giving way, and the advance was made, when they all ran for it.

[1] One evening Gordon was seated alone on the parapet of the bridge smoking a cigar when two shots in succession struck the stone on which he sat. These shots, which were purely accidental, had come from his own camp, it not being known that he was there. On the second striking the seat he thought it time to descend, and rowed across the creek to make inquiries as to what was going on. He had not been long on the river when that part of the bridge on which he had been seated gave way and fell into the water, nearly smashing his boat. This narrow escape from falling through with the ruins, to which he does not himself allude, is one of those incidents which added not a little to the reputation he had acquired of having a charmed life. —*The Story of Chinese Gordon.*

Our loss was two killed and three wounded. The Imperialists, who had been forced to retire, lost 110 killed and wounded, among whom were several high mandarins. Mow Wang made but a feeble attempt to reinforce the stockades, which were held by 1200 rebels, although Ching's firing gave him ample time to do so. The wet morning and the attack from an unexpected quarter probably were the reasons of our obtaining so easy a victory. The stockades were strong, and they were working hard to render them more so.

On the 24th, at dusk, Chung Wang made a very vigorous attack, and owing to our being to some degree unprepared for the same, drove our picket in from the village we held in advance of our stockade. The picket, reinforced with 250 men, however, retook the village, and held it, but with a loss of two killed and six wounded, in spite of the endeavours of the troops to take the same. His men fought well.

This was the last attempt the rebels ever made to recapture their stockades from us. They appeared hereafter, at Leeku, Wanti, and Fusaiquan, to be resigned to their fate after they had lost these positions. Chung Wang had come back from Wusieh on the 22d on the news of the capture of the Wulungchow stockades, and left again after his repulse. The Kashingfu rebels had again returned to the attack of Wokong, and occupied their former position. Ching was anxious about them, so Major Gordon sent the adjutant-general, Major Kirkham, with the

1st Regiment and the steamer *Hyson* to drive them out of their position, giving orders that the troops should not attack unless the steamer could come into action. Accordingly they left on the 25th October, and proceeded to Kahpoo, and thence to Wokong, reaching that place on the 26th, at 8 A.M. The rebels held very nearly the position they had occupied on the 13th October, but had made their works much stronger.

The obstacles which had prevented the steamer proceeding the last time having been cleared away, Major Kirkham directed a part of the 1st Regiment, under Colonel Trumblets, to turn their right flank, while another party turned their left, and the remainder advanced in front. The rebels stood well till the steamer began to advance, and then, their flanks being threatened, they turned and fled, but this time did not do so with impunity. The steamer pursued them with the troops, and drove them along the narrow road like sheep. A temporary bridge which they had constructed across the creek was knocked away by her going at it full speed, and then she came upon the gunboats and other craft which crowded the canal trying to escape. A few thirty-two-pounder shells fired high threw the leading boats into confusion, and stopped the rest, which, to the extent of some 1600, were captured, including sixteen gunboats. The rebels had the same style of road to retreat on as they had between Quinsan and Souchow, and fared as badly. They

were met on a high bridge, about one and a half mile from Puywang, by reinforcements, but the force of the flying multitude drove the latter over the bridge, and utterly discomfited them. Great numbers were drowned, and their loss must have been some 1500 men. A Wang was taken ("Coe" Wang) and 1300 prisoners. There were no troops to occupy Puywang, so it was not taken, although it might have easily been done at the time. The 1st Regiment and steamer returned to Wulungchow on the 27th October. A European (Louis Wilson) came out from Souchow on the 27th October. Mow Wang had allowed him to leave the city.

General Brown returned from Pekin.

The French force went back on the 23d, and was relieved by the 2d Regiment.

On the 29th the 1st Regiment went back with Major Gordon to Waiquaidong with the *Hyson*, and the 2d and 5th Regiments were left to garrison Wulungchow.

On the 31st October, the 4th Regiment and French force, with the *Hyson*, started with the artillery for the attack of the Leeku stockades, which are situated off the north gate of Souchow, on the large creek which runs from that gate to Chanzu.[1]

[1] A writer in the *Cornhill*, 1864, gives the following picturesque account of Gordon's operations :—

"On a certain bright and chilly morning in the month of October 1863, the writer of this paper, after two days' voyage by the interminable network of rivers, canals, and lakes which extend for many scores of miles westward from Shanghai, found himself traversing a broad and shallow expanse, reed-encircled and curiously silent, showing

The possession of Wulungchow and Patachiao rendered any sortie from Souchow to the south impossible, and enabled our force to operate to the north, and thus form a junction with the other Imperial forces under the Futai's brother, who had advanced from Kongyin, and who were held in check by Chung Wang, who since his defeat at Tajouka held on midway between Souchow and Wusieh at Mahtanchow, coming down to either places when attacks were made.

none of those myriad sails which usually dot the bosom of Chinese waters. To the westward of this the Golden Pheasant Lake stretched; at a distance of some 4000 yards—farther than the eye could penetrate to right and left in the misty morning—the grizzled walls of Souchow, a city celebrated for ages in the history of China for its size, population, wealth, and luxury, but now stripped of its magnificence, and held by an army of Taeping banditti against the Imperial forces, of which a disciplined corps of native soldiers, under the command of a British officer, formed the only really effective part. To the right and left, mile after mile, rose the line of lofty wall and gray turret, while above all appeared not only the graceful pagodas which have been for ages the boast of Souchow, and the dense foliage of secular trees —the invariable glory of Chinese cities—but also the shimmering roofs of newly-decorated palaces, confidently occupied by the vain-glorious leaders of the rebellion. Everything lay silent in the morning haze as I approached by a devious course, passing here a flotilla of Imperial gunboats watching the entrance of some creek leading to the city, and there some charred remains of what was once a flourishing village suburb, the headquarters occupied by the British commander of the disciplined Chinese. He had left behind him before entering the lake the entrenchment of the Chinese generalissimo, Ching, who with some 12,000 sturdy irregular troops was investing the east and north gates, whilst in his front a small forest of junk masts, near the south-east angle of the city, indicated the spot on the Grand Canal where Major Gordon had established his position. It was at a point where a channel, communicating with the Golden Pheasant Lake, joined the waters of the Grand Canal that Major Gordon had recently seized three strong fortifications of the rebels, and entrenching himself in an impregnable position at a distance of about 2000 yards from the angle of the city, cut off all communication on the south and east. Whilst my boat was approaching this spot

The troops proceeded on the 31st October by Diking to Leeku in order to mislead the rebels. They arrived at Diking on the night of the 31st October, which turned out wet. We started at 4 A.M., 1st November, and entered the main canal (leading to Leeku and thence to the north gate, at 11 A.M.) at a distance of two miles from the rebel stockades. At noon we advanced, and the 4th Regiment and French infantry landed on the east bank, so as to get round them. The guns were

the proximity of the rebel line became apparent with surprising suddenness, for, following their usual custom, they greeted the rising sun with a simultaneous display of gaudy banners above the line of their entrenchments. The mud walls they had thrown up, scarcely distinguishable before, were now marked out by thousands of flags of every colour, from black to crimson, whilst behind them rose the jangling roll of gongs and the murmur of an invisible multitude. Almost at the same moment a dull report and a puff of smoke rising within the lines of banners showed the manner in which this display was greeted from the still unseen lines of the Imperial commander; and as my boat came to anchor in sight of Major Gordon's position, the dull shock of a sixty-eight-pounder, and a shout from the gunners, announced that a heavy shell had been sent on a successful errand of destruction into the opposing lines. At the same instant a dark mass of men swarmed through the sally-port of the "stockade" or fort, which guarded either bank of the Grand Canal, and spread in skirmishing line over the fields on each side—treading waist-deep in the deserted rice crop, ripe for the sickle, but now left to be converted into a field of slaughter. In this soldier-like array, accoutred in uniforms of dark serge, and distinguished by green turbans wound around their heads in lieu of caps, armed with Tower muskets, and delivering a regular fire with steadiness and effect, it would have been difficult for a stranger to the events of the last five years to recognise the despised Chinese, to whom the possession of martial capabilities has so persistently been denied. Such a stranger must have viewed with surprise the firm regularity with which these troops executed the ordinary manœuvres of the field, and the alacrity with which they sprang forward at the bugle-call to encounter an enemy of their own race and language (in many cases their village kindred), who outnumbered them far beyond the proportion of ten to one."

landed and brought to bear on the east stockade. The creek was too narrow to allow of the steamer doing much good.

The rebels had constructed two stockades, one on each side of the high bridge which here spans the main creek. The rifles under Major Howard moved round to the rear of the stockade, but the rebels did not move. Their attention, however, seemed devoted to the front, and they opened very little fire on the flanking troops. These latter crept up quite close to the south of the stockades, and, before the rebels had ceased firing from the front loopholes they carried it with a rush. The rebels vacated the other stockade at once, and some thirty or forty were taken prisoners. Our loss was three killed and six wounded. Among the former was a very gallant officer of the 4th Regiment, Captain George Perry, who was killed at the moment of assault by a bullet in the mouth. The rebels fought very well, and threw bricks, etc., on the assailants up to the last moment. Some thirty or forty boats were taken. The prisoners said that they had been obliged to fight, as the runaways from Wulungchow had not met with a very good reception on their return to Souchow.

The possession of Leeku enabled us to form a junction with the forces of Santagen, the Futai's brother. But we were now much pressed for troops; the 2d and 5th Regiments were at Wulungchow, right at the other side of the city, the 1st and 3d

Regiments (newly raised) were at Waiquaidong, and the 4th Regiment and French force (some 400 men) were at Leeku. Ching had no more troops, so he and Major Gordon started off towards Wusieh to see if the Futai's brother would not spare some from his force. Their mission was successful so far, that he said he would send troops when he had driven back Chung Wang from his front, which was agreed to. The payment of the men now had to take place, and by dint of great exertions the Imperialists were induced to send troops to take charge of the Wulung-chow stockades, and thus enable the 2d and 5th Regiments to come up to Leeku, which they did, with the 1st and 3d Regiments, on the 9th November, and the whole force was assembled at Leeku.

On the 11th they started to attack the rebel position at Wanti, which place somewhat interfered with our communications with the Imperialists at Tajouka (the scene of the *Kajow's* destruction). The 1st Regiment was left at Leeku in garrison. Wanti was not more than two miles from Leeku, on a wide creek. The 2d Regiment was landed on the north or right bank, and the 3d and 5th Regiments on the south or left bank. These troops proceeded to flank the stockades, and to cut off the retreat. The stockades were on both sides of the creek, those on the southern bank being the largest, and consisting of three small circular stockades connected with a breastwork of small profile. The steamer *Hyson* opened fire from a distance of 400 yards, and

an eight-inch howitzer was landed to destroy the front of the stockades, and to enable the gunboats to approach nearer the works.

As soon as the troops had got round the stockades on all sides an advance was made by the 3d and 5th Regiments on the western angle of the stockade on the left bank, and the work was carried with comparatively little loss. Captain Gibb,[1] a very brave officer, received a severe wound in the lungs, and died a short time after. Unfortunately the Europeans who had been placed on the east face of the rebel stockades took into their heads to storm as well, and also the column on the north bank.

The rebels, attacked from three sides, stood for a short time at bay, and then rushed on the guns, when they were, however, met with grape and canister. The cross fire from the various sides caused us comparatively a heavy loss—forty wounded. ten killed, one officer (Captain Gibb) killed, and one (Captain Parker) wounded, with two European privates. About 400 rebels were taken prisoners, and very few escaped. They had been commanded by a Cantonese chief, who had been negotiating a surrender for some time, but who had been detected in the act of conversing with some Imperialists by Chung Wang, who had taken his wife and family as a hostage for his good conduct. Hence their good resistance.

[1] Captain Gibb, one of the majors who had left the force at Sungkiong in May 1863, had been allowed to come back.

The capture of Wanti now enabled our force to join with the forces of the Futai's brother; and it will be as well to describe the position of the contending parties.

We held the Taiho lake with the steamers, the *Hyson*, the *Tsatlee*, *Firefly*, and 200 men (Imperialists), which cruised off Moodow, and prevented supplies coming to Souchow up the creek which leads from that village to the small west gate, or Shih-mün, of Souchow, and where they had many actions with the rebel gunboats. The next great water outlet was closed to the rebels by our possession, with 1000 men (Imperialists) of Wulungchow. Off the Pon-mün, or south gate, the next main water and road communication to the south was closed to them by our occupation, by 1500 men (Imperialists) of the Patachiao stockades on the Grand Canal, south of the south-east angle of Souchow. The next (excepting a very small creek which leads from the Fual-mün, or south-east gate, and which was held by gunboats), which led from the Low-mün, or east gate of Souchow, to Quinsan, was closed by Ching's force of 3000 to 4000 men (Imperialists) some one and three-quarter mile from the gate. These men were, as has already been stated, well posted in strong and well-constructed stockades. The next position held was Leeku, which we held with the 1st Regiment, on the large canal leading from the Tche-mün, or north gate of Souchow, to Chanzu; and our last capture, Wanti, which we held

with the 5th Regiment, was the right of our line around Souchow.

The Taiho lake was a large expanse of water averaging fifteen feet deep, with a considerable number of islands in it, where the people had taken refuge from the rebels, who rarely molested them.

Thus, of the force attacking Souchow we had—

200	Imperialists,	Taiho Lake.
1000	,,	Wulungchow.
1500	,,	Patachiao.
4000	,,	Off east gate, or Low-mün, and 200 Quinsan Force at Waiquaidong.
400	Quinsan Force,	Leeku.
400	,,	Wanti.
7500		

We had left some 2500 Imperialist troops under Ching, and the 2d, 3d, and 4th Regiments, which with artillery were somewhat about 2100 men, and the French force, some 400 rank and file.

Thus, on the 11th November we had—

	Imperialists.	Quinsan Force.	French Force.
In stockades . .	7,500	1000	...
For the field or siege .	2,500	2100	400
Total . .	10,000	3100	400

Our right, at Wanti, was not more than two miles from Tajouka, the scene of the *Kajow's* destruction. This position was the extreme left of the

forces under the Futai's brother, who had some 20,000 to 30,000 men under him. His centre, some 8000 men, at Hoosan, was some fifteen miles from this position at Tajouka, and six miles from Wusieh, and his right some eight miles from this. He himself remained at Changking-jow, some five miles behind the centre division of his forces. As already said, he was utterly incapable for command of any sort.

The rebels held Souchow with some 40,000 men in and around the city. The city of Wusieh held some 20,000 men, and the Chung Wang had at Mahtanchow some 18,000 men more. The line from Leeku through Wanti, Tajouka, Hoosan to the Futai's brother's extreme right was parallel, and twelve miles, to the line joining Souchow and Wusieh. Chung Wang's position was central between Wusieh and Souchow, some ten miles in advance of the Grand Canal, so as to be able to give help to either city, and to attack on the flank any advance made by us on their grand line of water and road communication, viz. the Grand Canal. Our object was now to cut this line and to hold some position on it, so that Chung Wang (whose presence from his popularity was more to be dreaded than his troops) might be prevented from coming to the aid of the Souchow garrison.

Major Gordon had always been of opinion that if the retreat from Souchow was cut off there would be no necessity for fighting the city; but his idea

had been directed more to the capture of Wusieh than to the holding of a stockade on the Grand Canal. The assistance given to the rebels by the Europeans, and other reasons, prevented him from following this course hitherto, and at present the great jealousy which existed between Ching and the Futai's brother was an insurmountable barrier. These men were always glad to hear of one another's reverses, and would never give one another any assistance. This of course prevented Major Gordon from moving off with his force to capture Wusieh, as Ching, not gaining any credit for the same, would not have held during his absence the stockades of Wanti and Leeku, and thus the success of the whole operations would have been completely jeopardised. At present he got the credit of everything done by our force; and thus the leaving of the force to capture Wusieh would not have been to his benefit, but to that of his rival. The Futai's brother had so far yielded in his late interview with Major Gordon as to promise that, if the latter drove Chung Wang from his position at Mahtanchow,[1] and would capture Monding, a position twelve miles south of Tajouka, on the Grand Canal, he would occupy it.

This was now the turning-point of the operations. The Chinese mandarins had always evinced the greatest dislike to cutting off the rebel retreat, and feared much to do the same, firstly, because the

[1] From Mahtanchow Chung Wang sent a despatch to Mow Wang, which was intercepted by the Imperialists.

position which closed this retreat would be so difficult to hold; secondly, because they imagined the rebels would fight harder. Major Gordon reasoned, firstly, that by taking two positions on the Grand Canal, viz. at Fusaiquan and Monding, they would mutually support one another, and effectually prevent a simultaneous attack from Wusieh and Souchow on the same position; secondly, that the rebels as a mass did not care much to remain faithful when hemmed in and deprived of their retreat. The Chinese in this respect are all the same. The troops of our force, under similar circumstances, would be very difficult to restrain, however much their officers might wish to hold out.

Major Gordon knew that there were differences of opinion in the city between the Wangs, the subject of one being the foreigners, to whom Mow Wang had shown so much favour. He knew also that Mow Wang favoured his immediate followers, and that he had offended the other Wangs by cutting off the heads of some of their adherents without reference to them; also that Mow Wang was not so superior in rank as to be much respected by Lar Wang, who had a larger body of troops than he had, and was more popular among his men.

Chung Wang, the generalissimo of the rebel armies, had hitherto kept down all disobedience. So Major Gordon considered that, if he was shut out by cutting off the communication, it would not be long before these dissensions increased. He also

thought that the issue of an assault was at the best uncertain, and that a repulse would give the rebels great courage. This would not be the case if entirely surrounded, for their position by the same would not be improved, and they would reason that, sooner or later, they must yield.

It was therefore determined to take Monding, and then to drop down the Grand Canal and take Fusaiquan. This would give us two positions on their only road of retreat, which would face, the one towards Wusieh, and the other towards Souchow. To attack Monding it was necessary to proceed to Tajouka, and thence to operate first against Chung Wang at Mahtanchow, who occupied a position by which he could attack our column moving on Monding.

Accordingly, on the 15th November, the 2d, 3d, and 4th Regiments, with artillery and the French force, proceeded to Tajouka with Ching's field force of 1500 men, arrangements were made to march to attack the outposts of Chung Wang's army at Shaupau-chow, four miles distant; but that evening the fort adjutant arrived with a despatch from Shanghai, stating that the *Firefly* steamer, which was then hourly expected, had been seized by foreigners in the harbour of Shanghai. This information obliged Major Gordon to leave at once for Waiquaidong, and entirely changed the programme laid down.

Major Gordon left orders with Major Kirkham, his adjutant-general, to proceed against the rebels

with General Ching the next day as originally intended. The troops accordingly started at 9 A.M. on the 16th November, and crossing a district very much intersected with creeks, arrived at Shaupau-chow at 2 P.M. The rebels held some eleven stockades, but did not appear very numerous.

Their position, however, was so well chosen that, owing to the innumerable creeks, our loss would have been very great in attacking them. The light guns only were brought up with the troops, and these had to be dragged over the country, for there was no practicable creek to this place from Tajouka. The distance from that place was some ten, instead of two, miles, as had been stated, so Major Kirkham, seeing the difficulties of attack, and reasoning that our advance on Monding could not be easily molested by those troops, owing to the nature of the country, wisely abstained from attack, and returned to Tajouka.

Major Gordon returned that night in the *Tsatlee*, and despatched the *Hyson* to lay off the entrance of the creek leading from the Taiho lake, where it forks into two branches leading to Wulung-chow and Kahpoo, so as to prevent an attack in reverse on the former position. He arranged that night with General Ching to hurry the operations against Souchow, so as to cut the Grand Canal communication before the rebels could make use of the *Firefly*, and, therefore, to give up the idea of taking Monding (which we should have been obliged to garrison

ourselves, in consequence of our having failed to fulfil our arrangement with the Futai's brother to drive away Chung Wang from Mahtanchow and Shaupau-chow), and returning to Wanti, to move at once on Fusaiquan. The next day, the 17th November, the troops accordingly left for Wanti.

At daybreak on the 19th November, having left the 1st Regiment at Leeku, and 300 of the 5th Regiment at Wanti, the force, consisting of the 2d, 3d, and 4th, and remainder of the 5th Regiments, with the *Tsatlee* and the French force, and the Imperialists under Ching, started for Fusaiquan. The rebels had constructed two stockades midway between Wanti and Fusaiquan ; but these the rebels had vacated on the fall of the former place, and had fallen back on Fuchusaita and Fusaiquan. About 12 noon we came to a point equidistant about one mile from Fuchusaita and Fusaiquan, where the creek divides itself into two branches leading to these two places. We placed there a company of the 5th Regiment, and a twelve-pounder howitzer, to prevent the rebels of Fuchusaita from attacking our rear while engaged with the stockades at Fusaiquan, and proceeded on to that place.

The rebels had constructed three barriers across the creek leading into the Grand Canal of piles and straw, and much more strongly built than was ordinarily the case. These were some distance apart, the last one being at the debouch of

the creek into the Grand Canal. The rebel position consisted of eight earthen stockades, built on small hillocks along the line of the canal. About three-quarters of a mile from the debouch of the creek into the Grand Canal, towards Wusieh, was the strong stone fort of Fusaiquan, enclosing the Joss House, and commanding a lofty bridge spanning the Grand Canal. The earthen works had evidently been recently constructed, and were of no great strength. They were some 500 yards inland from the bank, along which the main road ran.

This road was separated by a creek from the mainland, and thus was a mere tongue of land some twelve feet wide, having the Grand Canal on one side, the creek on the other, and crossing branch creeks by stone bridges. The rebels had some gunboats lying some distance down the canal towards Souchow, from which some very good shots were made at our fleet of gunboats. The mandarin gunboats cleared away two of the barriers, while the 3d and 4th Regiments were landed on the east or left bank of the creek, and two small boats were dragged overland and placed in the Grand Canal. The 3d Regiment was deployed to cover the passage of the troops, and a mountain howitzer put into position for the same purpose. The small boats commenced taking over the 4th Regiment, by five and six at a time, to the other bank. These men were protected by the creek on the other side of the road from the rebel attacks, and by lying down avoided the fire of the

rebels. The latter made a feeble attempt to come down on the first boat-load of men; but as they had to pass along the front of the 3d Regiment, and to encounter the fire of the howitzer, they soon turned back. The last barrier was now nearly cleared, but the mandarin gunboats did not seem to like entering the canal at first. However, they at last advanced, and then ferried the troops across.

The rebels, who vacated the stockades soon after they saw the troops landing from the small boats, made a very feeble defence, and did not lose three men. As soon as the three earthen works opposite the creek we had advanced by were occupied, Major Gordon moved up to the stone fort with the 3d Regiment; this had been vacated, but the garrison were in sight, waiting at the distance of three-quarters of a mile from it. They, however, retired towards Wusieh on our approach, with a large number of boats. It is perfectly inexplicable how they vacated this fort — by far the best built and strongest we had yet seen. Altogether the rebels showed no fight; but if ever men deserved beheading, the leaders did, for they made but small efforts to defend their posts. The *Tsatlee* entered the creek soon after the 3d Regiment had occupied the stone fort, and, steaming up the canal towards Souchow, caused the rebels to vacate Fuchusaita, and drove back the reinforcements which had made their appearance from Sou-

chow. The rebels were commanded by Lar Wang, and numbered some 2000 to 3000. Our loss was none killed and none wounded! We had expected a most desperate defence.

On the 20th and 21st November reconnoitring parties proceeded towards Fuchusaita (which was found held by the rebels on our advance) and towards the Taiho lake, in the direction of the mountains, where there was a small bridle-path leading from Souchow to Wusieh, which ran through the mountains over a narrow pass of Tungling-ching Miao. On the second day the reconnoitring party, some 200 men of the 4th Regiment, fell in with a body of rebels, who were meditating making a stockade at the pass, quite unexpectedly, and, attacking them, drove them out of the village they had been occupying, took three ponies and some prisoners, and drove them back towards Wusieh in disorder. On the 24th Chung Wang fell back from Mahtanchow and Shaupau-chow to Monding and the line of the Grand Canal. This was owing to our capture of Fusaiquan. A comet made its appearance about this time, and was visible for two nights.

The capture of Fusaiquan concluded the investment of Souchow[1] (with the exception of the small bridle-path of Tungling-ching, and of one road which skirted the Taiho lake by Kwanfu, a long detour, which probably was unknown to the mass

[1] While here news arrived of the break up and return to England of the Osborne-Lay fleet.

of rebels in Souchow); but our difficulty was to garrison these latter, as they were liable to very serious attacks from Wusieh and Souchow. After some consideration Major Gordon arranged to leave the 1st Regiment, with one twenty-four-pounder howitzer and two twelve-pounder howitzers, at Fusaiquan, and 500 Imperialists in stockades, and then to move back to the north-east angle of Souchow, which appeared to be the weakest point of the city, where a repulse would not have been so disastrous as elsewhere, owing to the support which would be afforded by Ching's stockades, and to the nature of the country, which would enable a steamer to approach close to the walls.[1] The Imperialists agreed to leave small garrisons instead of the 1st Regiment (which had been ordered on to Fusaiquan and Leeku), and instead of the portion of the 5th Regiment which was at Wanti.

[1] About this time the *Hyson* and *Tsatlee*, which were in the Taiho lake, attacked a fleet of forty rebel gunboats, which ran into one of the islands where they had a stockade, and hauling up their boats manned the stockades and prevented the steamers taking them away through the shoalings of the water. They kept up a heavy fire from the gunboats, and sent a twelve-pounder shot through the steam-chest of the *Tsatlee*. The steam rushed out and drove the crew aft. The *Hyson* came to her assistance, and towed her out of range. The *Hyson* then went back, and, making a dash, carried off eight gunboats. Captain Jones in the *Tsatlee* set to work, and with his engineer mended the shot-hole with an iron plate. The shot had just strength to enter. Had there been enough steam up it would have been bad work for the steamer. The two steamers then cruised off the island, and at dusk were surprised by a large flotilla of boats sailing towards Souchow. This was Mow Wang's uncle, Lar Wang, from Wuchufu, with a large reinforcement of troops for Souchow. The *Hyson* attacked them and sunk several, dispersing the remainder.

Deserters had told us that the difference between Lar Wang and Mow Wang still continued.

On the 22d November the French force, the 2d, 3d, 4th, and remainder of the 5th Regiments, and the artillery, left Fusaiquan for Leeku. Major Gordon wrote to Mow Wang from Fusaiquan just before he left, to tell him that if he meditated making terms with the Imperialists the last moment had arrived, and offered to give him every assistance in his power. General Ching had several conversations with Major Gordon on this subject, and perfectly agreed in the sending of this letter. As it was necessary to take the rebel stockades before the east gate, or Low-mün, and the north gate, or Tche-mün, before attacking the north-east angle, Major Gordon determined to seize the Low-mün, or east gate stockades first, and afterwards to attack the others. One of these stockades at the east gate was the scene of the repulse of General Ching of the French force on the 14th October, and was destined to be the same to our force.

Major Gordon proceeded to Waiquaidong on 24th November, and having reconnoitred the position, and inquired from the Europeans in the force who had been in Souchow, and of the French officers who had been in the former attack and had advanced up to the edge of the ditch, about the strength of the works and width of the ditch, etc., determined to attack by night the stockade on the south or left bank.

A breastwork ran along the front of the rebel position from a broken bridge on the canal leading from Quinsan to Souchow to the Fual-mün, or south-east gate, along which, at intervals of 600 yards, the rebels had constructed (slightly retired from the breastwork) small circular stockades. This line was well laid out. On the north, or right bank of the same canal, some 400 yards nearer the city, and along the edge of a wide creek leading into the Yansingho lake, the rebels had constructed another breastwork, enclosing three large stockades built on small hillocks. It was necessary to have possession of these stockades before the city could be attacked. Those on the north side, off the Tche-mün, could be easily taken in the rear on the fall of the Low-mün stockades. The proximity of the stockades to the city actuated Major Gordon in deciding on a night attack, as it seemed very improbable that any large reinforcements would venture out of the city, especially when we knew that the Mow Wang was apprehensive of treachery from the other Wangs.

The 2d and 4th Regiments were ordered down from Leeku, and arrived on the 25th November with the artillery at Waiquaidong. The attack was to be made at 2 A.M. on the 27th November. At 9 P.M. on the 26th November a lantern had been observed on the east gate, or Low-mün, which deserters said was a sign that Mow Wang was at that gate. An eclipse of the moon came on soon after this, which might have caused some fear in the troops, who,

like all Chinese, were very suspicious of signs of this nature. However, Major Gordon, from his experience with the mandarins, thought it better not to relinquish his intentions, and accordingly at 2 P.M. the troops were ordered to embark and advance in boats up to the broken bridge, and there to land, and, pursuing the rebels, to endeavour to follow them into the stockade to the left.

At the hour named the troops started, but owing to some mistake the leading boats halted some distance short of the broken bridge. However, the leading troops, gallantly led by their officers, pushed on to the breastwork. As they came up to it they were met by a crushing volley and a cheer from the rebels, and at the same moment lanterns were hoisted at each stockade, showing that the rebels were perfectly acquainted with our attack. Irrespective of this, the small party of troops which had landed pushed on and carried the breastwork, taking thirteen prisoners. Unfortunately the paucity of troops prevented them pursuing the remainder into the stockade. The remainder of the boats were alarmed at the violent firing, and by the showers of grape which poured on them, and they fairly turned and retired.

After considerable exertions they were brought back, but would not advance to the broken bridge, and they landed the men on the right or north bank. The confusion was very great. The rebels, however, remained in their works. The prisoners told

us that Mow Wang himself, with his twenty Europeans, were in the stockade to the left, close to our somewhat insecure position in the breastwork on the edge of the creek. Major Gordon brought up field guns to bear on the rebel works, and went back to get the Futai, who was looking on in one of the adjacent Imperial stockades, to order up more gunboats, in order to support his position till daylight enabled him to attack the stockade. During his absence from the front the rebels made a sortie, and succeeded in dislodging our men from the breastworks which had afforded us cover. On Major Gordon's return to the front the troops and guns were withdrawn, and the whole force retired to Waiquaidong. This was at 5.30 A.M. Our losses were very heavy, viz. killed, Captain Wiley, 2d Regiment; Captain Christie, 4th Regiment; Private Upchurch, of bodyguard. Wounded, Major Kirkham, Major Tapp, artillery. Rank and file, wounded, sixty; killed, drowned, and missing, one hundred.

If the landing-boats had pushed up to the broken bridge and landed at the place they were ordered to, and if the whole of the troops had moved on who were detailed, there is little doubt that success would have crowned our efforts, in spite of Mow Wang's having cognisance of our attack. As it was, it was most unfortunate that Major Gordon had not deferred his attack when he had reason to believe the rebels expected it; and it was a misfortune he

should have undertaken the attack by night, when the skulkers could not be seen. Among our force there were a few Chinese and foreigners. His mistake cost us a heavy loss, among whom most to be regretted was the adjutant-general, Major Kirkham, who was wounded at the outset of the action, and whose services, from his energy and other qualities, were ill to be spared at this time. Thus ended our defeat, the second serious one which the force had sustained from the rebels, but we happily lost no guns, and did not leave many dead in the hands of the rebels.

As we afterwards learnt, Mow Wang knew, or rather guessed at, our instructions, and was quite prepared. He and all his Europeans were present, and one of them (the Frenchman Labourix) was killed, while on his way from the city to the stockade, by a bullet in the abdomen. Mow Wang remained in the front stockade all night. He was without shoes or stockings, and fought like a simple soldier. He was much cast down at the disobedience of Lar Wang, to whom he had sent frequent orders to come up to his help.

A false attack had been previously arranged with the Imperialist troops at Patachiao to take place at the same time as our own ; but it was delayed till dawn, and took place when our troops were retiring. Had we had fresh troops we should have renewed the attack ; but this was impossible, as the remainder of the force was at Leeku.

The 3d and 5th Regiments were ordered down with the whole of the artillery on the 27th, and arrived early on the 28th, and arrangements made for an attack with the whole force at 10 A.M. on the 29th November. Captain Bonnefoy, having been obliged through sickness to go to Shanghai, left his force with Captain Durmont, with orders to follow our movements. Five hundred Imperialists came up from Taitsan the day after the night attack.

On the morning after the attack, viz. the 27th November, General Ching told Major Gordon that he had had an interview with Kung Wang, one of the Souchow Wangs, and that Lar Wang, Kung Wang, Tun Wang, and Ling Wang, with thirty-five Tienchwangs, or Wangs expectant, and 30,000 men, were anxious to come over, and asked Major Gordon's opinion of it. The latter was much relieved at the news, and told Ching that there was every reason in favour of obtaining their secession. This was the first time that the dissensions in the city had taken any decided form. Ching said that Mow Wang and Lar Wang were on bad terms, that matters had not improved between them since Chung Wang's departure, and that Lar Wang would shut Mow Wang and his men out of the city if we made an attack on the Low-mün stockades, and then would make terms with the Imperialists for himself and companions.

As it was evident that the rebels would do

all in their power to keep the Low-mün stockades, after having repelled two attacks, and as any repulse, with the present negotiations pending, would have proved fatal to them, Major Gordon determined to put forth all his powers to take the stockades, and accordingly got the heavy siege guns and mortars into position. By 9 A.M. on the 29th the fire opened. The rebels had full notice of our intentions, and had their works fully manned. Chung Wang had arrived that morning at 2 A.M. from Wusieh, by the small bridle-path passing near Fusaiquan, with his bodyguard of 400 men. The nature of the ground between the Imperialist and rebel stockades was very well adapted for skirmishers, being broken into hillocks, etc., affording good cover. Our troops were able to move up to within 100 yards of the breastwork without much exposure. About 9.30 A.M. the rebel works seemed so much battered about by our concentrated artillery fire that an advance was ordered, but was met by such a very heavy fire from the enemy that the column was forced to fall back with considerable loss. Field-pieces were now brought up, and also the two eight-inch guns, and after playing on the works for half-an-hour the advance was again ordered. The creek, some fourteen yards wide, was found to be much too wide for the bridge, and we should have been again repulsed had not the officers and men swam across and mounted the breastwork.

Major Gordon ordered the troops to cross the creek by the narrow causeway, where it joins the main canal from Quinsan to Souchow. The rebels made the most determined attempts to drive out the small parties who first crossed, Chung Wang's bodyguard themselves being engaged under their leader's immediate direction.

Our loss was very heavy indeed, viz.—

Artillery—Killed, Lieutenant Jones. Wounded, Lieutenant Rhodes and Captain Baffy.

2d Regiment—Killed, Captain Maule and Lieutenant King.

4th Regiment — Killed, Lieutenant Edgar. Wounded, Captain Harney.

5th Regiment—Killed, Lieutenant Williams and Lieutenant Geanceford.

Rank and File—Killed, 50. Wounded, 128.

Bodyguards (Europeans)—Wounded, 5.

And, considering the strength of the position the rebels held, it was a wonder we took it. The circular stockade had two deep ditches around it, and was well staked, and even without the breastwork with its ditch was very strong. Luckily our rockets had set the mat houses in the stockade on fire, and the rebels did not attempt to hold it. As soon as we had entered the breastworks Major Gordon and a few men continued on towards the city, and finding the stockades on the right or north bank were almost vacated in the confusion, he pushed across the creek leading to Low-mün, and

occupied the nearest stone fort which was on the road. The rebels had been trying to bring up a twenty-four-pounder gun to the front, which was captured by this party.

The rebels, seeing so few men in the stone fort, came out and tried to occupy the two other stockades, and would have done so had not a few more troops come up, and, driving them back, occupied these two stockades also; after a short time the other troops came up, and we took up our position in these three stockades, which were some 900 yards from the wall. They were very strong, and would have given us much trouble if the rebels had managed to reoccupy them. Why they vacated them was a mystery, for they could have held out easily after the fall of the others. The day's capture was five strong stockades on the left or south bank, and three on the right or north bank, but at a great cost, as has been shown.

From one of the stockades which we occupied could be seen the ditch of the north-east angle of the city, the point Major Gordon intended to attack. Its immense width was appalling, while, on looking to the north, there was a range of stockades as far as the eye could reach, which did not tend to re-assure one's mind as to the ultimate result; for, although victorious beyond our hopes, we had lost some of our best officers and men. The force was, however, ignorant of the dissensions in the city,

and Major Gordon knew that this defeat, under the eyes of the garrison and under their most popular leader, would not tend to allay the same. He issued the following General Order, which somewhat raised our hopes :—

"GENERAL ORDER

"LOW-MUN, SOUCHOW,

"*30th November* 1863.

"The commanding officer congratulates the officers and men of the force on their gallant conduct of yesterday. The tenacity of the enemy, and the great strength of their position, have unfortunately caused many casualties and the loss of many valuable officers and men. The enemy, however, has now felt our strength, and, although fully prepared, and animated with the presence of their most popular chiefs, has been driven out of a position which surpasses in strength any yet taken from him. The loss of the whole of the stockades on the east side of the city, up to the walls, has already had its effect, and dissension is now rife in the garrison, which, hemmed in on all sides, is already, in fact, negotiating defection.

"The commanding officer feels most deeply the heavy loss, but convinced that the same will not be experienced again. The possession of the position of yesterday renders the occupation of the city by the rebels untenable, and thus victualling the city is lost to them."

General Ching came up about 2 P.M. to Major Gordon, and renewed the conversation with respect to the Wangs. He said that he had gathered from the prisoners that had been taken that neither Lar Wang nor the other Wangs who had entered into negotiations had been engaged in the late encounter, nor any of their troops. (We heard afterwards that Chung Wang, when at Low-mün staying the flight of the troops, had met Lar Wang and his

force; that Chung Wang, who had sent three or four orders to Lar Wang to come up, was much incensed with him, and blamed him severely for his tardiness, laying the loss of the stockades on him. Lar Wang's excuse was that he had a long way to come up. He had delayed purposely till the firing had nearly ceased.)

During the afternoon the rebels still held the north gate stockades, and also one on the edge of the large creek leading from the Yansingho lake direct to the north-east angle of the city.

On the morning of the 30th November we found the rebels had vacated all the north gate stockades, and also that on the edge of the creek leading to the north-east angle of the city. Major Gordon and General Ching visited these stockades, and the former arranged to occupy them the next day, General Ching's men taking charge of those he himself vacated. The evacuation of these stockades by the rebels saved us a great amount of trouble, as they were very strong and supported one another. We had now nothing between us and the city, and our attack could commence at any time. The rebels had mounted a twenty-four-pounder gun on siege-carriage on north-east angle, and they fired some well-directed shell into our stockades during the day. The whole of the siege ammunition was sent for from Waiquaidong.

On the 30th General Ching renewed the conversation with Major Gordon relative to the defec-

tion of the garrison, and told him that Chung Wang had gone back, on the night of the 29th, to Wusieh, and it was Lar Wang's troops who had vacated the north gate stockades, and that he thought everything was going on well. The preparations for attack were, however, not suspended. We heard afterwards that Chung Wang was desirous of leaving the Tien Wang to his fate. Lar Wang would not accede to the request of Chung Wang, as he was already compromised with the Imperialists. Chung Wang wept over the loss of the city, which, he said, he would not have cried for if it had not been Souchow. He thought it was useless defending it, but Mow Wang was stubborn to the last.

On the morning of the 1st December our troops vacated the stockades in front of the east gate, or Low-mün, and moved more to the north side, the two nearest stockades to the north-east angle being occupied by the 4th and 2d Regiments respectively, the former occupying the stockade near the edge of the creek leading to the north-east angle. This stockade was some 700 yards from the angle. We could plainly see Europeans about the gun at this angle, who fired occasional shots and waved their caps. We did not fire, as the men were Lar Wang's, and we did not wish unnecessarily to fire on them. The 3d and 5th Regiments and artillery were kept in reserve in rear of the two stockades. The Futai had come up to Waiquaidong on the 20th

November, and had been present at the night and day attacks on the Low-mün stockades.

As no move of troops took place after 1st December till the fall of the city, it may be as well to recapitulate the position of our forces and those of the rebels, viz. we had—

	Imperialists.	Quinsan Force.	French Force.
In Taiho lake, steamers *Tsatlee* and *Hyson* . . .	...	...	...
At Stockades, Wulungchow .	1,000	...	...
,, Patachiao .	1,500	...	...
,, Off Low-mün .	6,700	...	...
,, North-east angle	...	2500	350
,, Leeku . .	300	...	...
,, Wanti . .	150	...	...
,, Fusaiquan .	500	400	...
Total .	10,150	2900	350

Of this disposable for attack we had—

Imperialists	3000
Quinsan Force	2300
French Force	300
Total	5600

This is the very highest computation. The rebels had in the city, since the evacuation of the north gate stockades, from 25,000 to 35,000 men. They held Moodow, on the Taiho lake, in force, and had 3000 men at Quamqu, near the stockades at Fusaiquan. In this statement no account is taken of Chung Wang and his force, or of the Imperialists

under the Futai's brother, who, on the evacuation of Mahtanchow by Chung Wang, had occupied the vacated position, and which he reported to his brother as a great victory over the rebels.

General Ching came over at noon to Major Gordon, and asked him if he would meet these rebel chiefs who were coming over to him that night, and were going to discuss matters. Major Gordon agreed; and at 10 P.M. was sent for by General Ching, and went to his boat. He found there a guard of his own men. The three chiefs had come down to our 2d Regiment pickets and had asked for General Ching, and had been taken down to him under escort. Major Gordon saw the three chiefs, who were fine young men from twenty-five to twenty-eight years of age, but nothing passed but some trifling conversation during Major Gordon's visit. They, however, remained in General Ching's camp that night.

On the 2d December preparations were made for the attack, and the sites of the batteries fixed on. General Ching came over to see the bridge, and asked Major Gordon if he would come that evening and meet the Lar Wang off the north gate. He said he thought it quite unnecessary—that he had been before on good terms with this chief. Major Gordon added that he trusted the Futai would grant such terms as would induce the chiefs to surrender, as, from our late heavy losses, and from the great width of the ditch (upwards of seventy yards), we

could not look on our success as certain. Ching, however, pressed on Major Gordon to accompany him. Major Gordon was then engaged with the pontoon bridge, which was about seventy-four yards long, and could have been carried by 100 men. The Futai came up soon after, and Major Gordon pressed on him also the necessity of granting good terms to the Wangs, to which he assented, but did not think they would come over. This was about 3 P.M. on the 2d December.

Soon after the Futai had left two of the rebel chiefs, who had come out the night before, came and inspected the bridge and siege-guns. They had not shaved their heads. About 4 P.M. a fine-looking young rebel came into our lines from the Tche-mün, or north gate. He asked for General Ching, to whom he was taken. When there he said that there was a report in Souchow that Lar Wang was likely to come over, and that he had come to inquire, as he wanted to come over with 100 men. He was detained by General Ching for fear of his giving information to Mow Wang.

At 7 P.M. Major Gordon started to meet General Ching, and proceeded with him to the point where the creek from the Yansingho lake joins the canal leading from the north gate, or Tche-mün, to Leeku and Chanzu.

About 9.15 P.M. Lar Wang arrived, and was seen by General Ching first. The latter, after some conversation with Lar Wang, went to Major

Gordon and asked him to come in. Lar Wang was most polite, and, after the first salutations were over, he said that he was anxious to obtain Major Gordon's assistance. (General Ching had previously stated to Major Gordon that Lar Wang was most anxious that we should attack the city, when he would not assist in its defence, but that his troops should wear white turbans; and the conditions he required were that he and his friends should be protected on our entry.) Major Gordon, referring to this proposal, told Lar Wang that he should be only deceiving him if he agreed to the terms, as, if the city were attacked and captured, it would be impossible for him to restrain an undisciplined force, such as he commanded, from plundering everywhere and every one, and that they would not discriminate between those who wore white turbans and those who did not, it being just as likely that the combatants would, if they saw the day going against them, put on the same. Major Gordon added that, if they were sincere in their wish to come over, they had better give over a gate as guarantee of their good faith, and that, if they could not do that, they had better vacate the city or fight it out.

Major Gordon discussed with Lar Wang the rebel chances of ultimate success, hemmed in as they were, and recommended him to arrange terms with the Imperialists before matters had progressed too far. He said that he would discuss matters with

Ching and see if he could arrange some mode of coming over. He was anxious to delay till the 6th December, and General Ching was as anxious to hurry the matter. Lar Wang asked Major Gordon if he would delay his attack till the 6th, and the latter replied that he would if General Ching thought it advisable. Major Gordon, in consenting to delay the attack, cautioned Lar Wang against the risk there was of Mow Wang's hearing of the matter, or of Chung Wang's coming back. Lar Wang answered that he did not care if either of these eventualities happened, that he had enough troops to take both of them prisoners, and that he, holding four gates out of the six, was always safe. (He held the Low-mün, Tche-mün, Tcha-mün, and Shih-mün. Mow Wang's men held the Fual-mün and the Pon-mün.)

After some unimportant conversation Major Gordon left in order that General Ching and Lar Wang might arrange the terms, etc. General Ching had exchanged cards with Lar Wang, *i.e.* had sworn brotherhood with him. This habit exists among the rebels, and is of great force. Seven or eight men exchange cards, and thus are bound to die for one another, should it be necessary. Ching also was acquainted with Lar Wang in earlier days, when the former was in the rebel ranks. Major Gordon returned to camp at 10 P.M.

On the morning of the 3d December General Ching came over and told Major Gordon that his

arrangements with Lar Wang had progressed favourably, and that the latter had agreed to consult with the other Wangs on the subject. He said a deserter had come into his lines that morning, who said that Mow Wang had some suspicion of Lar Wang's visit, and was anxious to seize him, but that Lar Wang was prepared against him. (It appeared after that some two or three of Mow Wang's Tienchwangs knew of Lar Wang having left the city, and, not daring to bring the matter to Mow Wang's notice in case of it having been done by his sanction, they left the city, and thus aroused Mow Wang's suspicions.) In the afternoon he came over again to Major Gordon, and told him that Lar Wang had consulted with the other Wangs, and they had agreed to come over, but had some difficulty in dealing with Mow Wang, whose suspicions were aroused, and that he, Ching, had sent in to say that if they were determined to come over they could not fear one man.

On the morning of the 4th December General Ching visited Major Gordon, and told him that Lar Wang had determined, with the other Wangs, to get Mow Wang on the north-east angle of the city, ostensibly to look at our batteries in course of construction, but really to throw him down the wall. A boat would be in readiness to seize him and bring him over a prisoner. Ching asked Major Gordon to have 200 men ready to march to the north gate, and to patrol through the city when this had

taken place, to show the rebels that we would keep faith with them, and to overawe Mow Wang's men. Major Gordon detailed this party, and determined to keep Mow Wang himself. He afterwards (about 2 P.M.) went to General Ching, and told him his intentions of keeping Mow Wang, and of preventing the Futai from seizing him. General Ching appeared very glad of this, as he said he was an old acquaintance of his. Major Gordon then went down to the Futai, who was out; but he told Paon (a very high civil mandarin, who owned the greater part of the property around Souchow), and he agreed to tell the Futai.

It was now nearly 4 P.M., and on Major Gordon returning to his camp he met a boat with two Frenchmen[1] and a Chinese boy, who had been sent over by General Ching. These two men had just escaped from Souchow. They stated that at 11 A.M. that morning the Mow Wang had sent for Lar Wang, who had an hour's amicable conversation with him; that, after that, all the other Wangs, viz. Kong Wang, Sing Wang, Pei Wang, etc., came in, and Mow Wang had a dinner prepared for them in the inner hall; that, after the dinner, they had offered up prayers and then arrayed themselves in their robes, crowns, etc., all except Sing Wang; that they adjourned into the reception hall; that Mow Wang

[1] Radinor and Bertrand. They were deserters from the French Zephyrs at Shanghai, had been *sous-officiers* in the French army, and were good men. They were often seen on the walls.

had seated himself at the head of the table, which was on a raised daïs, having Lar Wang on his left and Kong Wang on his right, Sing Wang leaning over the back of Kong Wang's chair; that Mow Wang had got up and made a speech to the Wangs, and that they had answered in succession — Lar Wang not speaking; that the discussion seemed to get angry, and that accordingly they (the two Frenchmen) had gone into their rooms, which were close by. Very soon after they heard a great commotion and cries of "tsah, tsah" ("kill, kill"); that one of the Wangs (Ning Wang) rushed into their room with his crown off and robes torn, begging for safety; that Lar Wang stood at the door and kept the others off him; that they had got out of the room and gained the courtyard, now full of soldiers plundering on all sides; they saw there the body of Mow Wang on one side of the threshold and his head on the other side, and saw the Wangs mounting their horses and riding off to their troops. They managed, with difficulty, to get out of the Fual-mün, where the death of Mow Wang was yet unknown, and escaped into Ching's lines.

From various sources it appears that Mow Wang suspected Lar Wang, and sent for him to keep him till he could get hold of the other Wangs with safety; that Kong Wang and Sing Wang had made preparations against Mow Wang, which prevented the latter from carrying out his idea for that day, and that, therefore, he tried to carry off the matter

as a ceremony. However, Kong Wang and Sing Wang settled at dinner to kill Mow Wang, and told Lar Wang of it, who did not exactly approve. The other two insisted, as they said it was not safe to delay. Hence Sing Wang, in order not to be encumbered, not arraying himself in his robes. Mow Wang's discourse was to the effect that the Kwangsi and Canton men were more faithful than the other rebels; this alone must have been very distasteful to the other Wangs, who, with the exception of Ning Wang, a Kwangsi man, were all Hoonan and Hupih men.

He went on to say that no trust could be placed in the Imperialists, etc. The other Wangs answered in succession, and the discussion got warmer, till Kong Wang got up and took off his robes. Mow Wang asked him what he was about. He drew a small two-edge dagger and stabbed Mow Wang in the neck. Mow Wang cried out, and Kong Wang stabbed him again in the back. He fell forward over the table, and was seized by Sing Wang and others and dragged off the raised daïs to the threshold, and his head cut off by either Kong Wang or a Tienchwang.

Thus perished by a cowardly assassination a brave and intelligent man who in the midst of his difficulties never despaired. He was very good to Europeans, but cruel to his countrymen. His last order was to the effect that all soldiers detected wearing long coats below the waist should be exe-

cuted; and many were executed for disobedience to this order. He gave orders for the decorating of his house up to the last morning of his existence.

Lar Wang told Major Gordon that when he had been stabbed and seized, some letters which Major Gordon had written to him fell out on the floor.[1] The Frenchmen also mentioned that Mow Wang had asked them to write a letter to Major Gordon to ask for an interview two days previous, and that Mow Wang intended to have been present at the same in disguise if accorded. He had been very anxious about this interview, and the Frenchmen had written the letter, but Major Gordon never received it.

While the Frenchmen were relating the above occurrence there was a loud hum of voices from the city, but no musketry or sound of conflict, and the walls looked deserted. No one, however, went into the city that evening. General Ching sent word that Mow Wang's head had been sent out to him, and that he should occupy a gate the next morning. Major Gordon would not do so, as he did not wish to run the risk of any of his men going into the city at all.

At daybreak on the 5th December there was a sound of musketry in the city, which, however, soon ceased. This was the fighting between the Mow Wang's Cantonese and Kwangsi men with Lar Wang's men, who had shaved their heads during

[1] The letter is given on a foregoing page. It was covered with blood stains, and a portion of the writing is scarcely legible.

the night. Lar Wang left the Tcha-mün and Shih-mün open during the night of the 4th and day of the 5th December, to let those leave who wished to do so. This was against the wishes of the other Wangs, who would have massacred them. Ning Wang also escaped.

Some of Ching's men now went up to the Low-mün and occupied the gate, and at 9 A.M. Major Gordon went to the Futai and asked him to grant the men two months' pay, as they could not enter the city, and had received no reward for the capture of any place that they had taken since his taking the command. This was very different from what they got under Ward, for they received five dollars each fight per man. He further told the Futai that he was willing to proceed with the force at once to Wusieh and Chanchufu, and to follow up the rebels.

The Futai replied that he could not grant the request, and that he would have as much as he could do to settle Souchow for the present. Major Gordon (who had long been anxious to relinquish the command, which the Futai knew well) then told him he should leave his service, and that he could settle with the men himself, giving him till 3 P.M. to settle the matter. Major Gordon went with us to the city, and went to Lar Wang's house. The whole place looked quiet and settled, and we met no men with unshaven heads.

We found Lar Wang, Sing Wang, Kong Wang,

and many other chiefs in this house. They received us well, and Major Gordon asked if everything was satisfactory. They said "Yes." Major Gordon complimented Sing Wang on his defence of Shoushing, and after some unimportant conversation we left the house and went to Mow Wang's, where we found the body of that chief, which, however, we could not induce the men who were about to bury. Major Gordon picked up under the table the letters that he had written to Mow Wang, and which had been alluded to by Lar Wang as being about Mow Wang's body. Mow Wang's body bore the marks of many stabs, and was lying partially covered with the robes he wore at the time of his assassination.

About 3 P.M. Major Gordon went out of the city to the camp, and found that Siaidong had in vain endeavoured to settle matters with the Futai, and after fruitless endeavours on his part to settle the affair, General Ching came and begged Major Gordon to induce the men to accept one month's pay. After a good deal of delay Major Gordon agreed to try what could be done—no very easy task, as the officers had but little authority, and that little some of them only felt inclined to use in a way not tending to a pacific termination.

He assembled the whole force in a square, and addressing them, told them they must be content with one month's pay. They set up a howl of disapprobation, but were eventually quieted. Major

Gordon went back to his boat, and told General Ching that he should have to send a guard down to the Futai's boat that night. About half-an-hour after the men fell in with the intention of going down to the Futai's boat; but Major Gordon soon dispersed them. He determined to send them back to Quinsan immediately, as they could not be trusted to remain near Souchow. This was also the Futai's wish. Accordingly, at daybreak on the 6th the whole force started for Quinsan, and although the men showed great disapprobation as they passed the Futai's boat, the presence of two officers there deterred them from proceeding to extremities.

It was during the afternoon of the 5th December that Ching told Major Gordon that the Futai had written to Pekin, and reported that he had extended mercy to the Wangs and rebels of Souchow.

Major Gordon sent to ask Ching if he knew of any reason for his not going into the Taiho lake with the two steamers to look after the *Firefly*. He sent back word that everything was settled satisfactorily, and that he could go with safety, and that the Wangs were coming out to see the Futai at noon. Major Gordon sent orders to the *Hyson* and *Tsatlee* steamers, which were near the Futai's boat, to go round with his chop to Wulungchow, and went into the city himself, meaning to leave it by the Pon-mün, which would enable him to join them at Wulungchow. We accompanied him to the Low-mün, and he went on to see Lar Wang before he

left, to see if he was in any trouble. We arrived at Lar Wang's house at 11.15 A.M., and found a great many ponies at the entrance. Major Gordon went in and took Lar Wang aside, and asked him if everything was going on satisfactorily, and told him that he intended to go to the Taiho lake after the *Firefly*.

Lar Wang said there was no trouble, but that he would wish to come to Major Gordon's boat after he had seen the Futai, in order to pay his respects with the other Wangs. Major Gordon replied that unless he thought there was any chance of trouble he would not delay, as the business was important; but that if he thought that there was, he would gladly stay. Lar Wang said "No;" that everything had been satisfactory, and that he was going out at noon to see the Futai. Sing Wang with Kong Wang were with Lar Wang. (The former had not shaved his head: this is unaccountable. His uncle said afterwards that he did not shave his head because if there had been any treachery he might be the only one to suffer.) Lar Wang was in very good spirits, and promised to give Major Gordon 1000 of his men for soldiers. He came out with him to see the Chinese bodyguard. Major Gordon then left and went (towards the Low-mün) to Mow Wang's palace, to see if Ching had buried Mow Wang's body.

Before he had gone many yards the Lar Wang, Sing Wang, and other chiefs came up on horseback, some thirty or forty men in all. They did not

appear armed, and seemed in good spirits, laughing and talking as they went past us. The reason why Major Gordon did not attend the ceremony was, that his presence would have made the Wangs feel their submission more acutely, and would have embarrassed the Chinese authorities. He had heard that the Futai had prepared a dinner for them, but little thought of what this turned out to be.

We went on to Mow Wang's house with Major Gordon, and met a party of General Ching's men, who came in and removed Mow Wang's body. The house or palace was a strange medley of arsenal and dwelling-house. There were shells here and there, and on a side-table we found a rifle parrot shell which had not exploded, and which was one of three we had fired into the city, thus showing that little escaped Mow Wang's notice. We found the journal of Smith, the European who commanded the others at Souchow. This man had been out to Major Gordon's camp at Patachiao, but had afterwards been persuaded, after Burgevine's departure, to remain. He was a deserter from the Royal Navy, and was probably afraid of being given up. His journal was well written, and commenced from the 18th November, when our attack on the Low-mün stockades took place. We found letters from Lindlay, telling him to come down and help him with the *Firefly*, which he had done on the 30th November, taking four or five other Europeans with him.

We had met that morning two Europeans who were with Mow Wang. They had been protected by Lar Wang, and were sent out of the city by Major Gordon; one of them was an old officer of this force. We heard afterwards that some of the other Europeans had been killed by the rebels or Imperialists on the morning of the 6th December. We found near Mow Wang's house about thirty heads of small boys, averaging from fifteen to eighteen years, and on inquiry found these were Mow Wang's immediate attendants, and had been beheaded by the Wangs after the death of Mow Wang. This may seem very great cruelty, but they were wicked to a degree that would scarcely be believed. One of them, a boy of fourteen years of age, an adopted son of Mow Wang, himself cut off the head of his small comrade, twelve years old, for stealing some trifles from him. The same youth had been guilty of a great many other atrocities, and had tortured two Chinese soldiers of the French force who had been taken at the Patachiao stockades in October. Mow Wang had some sixteen of these youths.

Major Gordon then left with Mr. Macartney and his two interpreters Ching and Chanzu, and as some time would elapse before the steamers could get round to Wulungchow, he determined to go to Low-mün and walk by the wall to the Pon-mün. On arriving at the Low-mün, and looking down towards Quinsan, a large crowd was perceptible near the

Futai's boat, some one mile and a half distant from the gate. This he thought was part of the ceremony which was going on. After waiting about for half-an-hour, it now being 1 P.M., a large number of Imperialists came up, and as soon as they entered the city they set up a yell, as they usually did when occupying a vacated stockade. Major Gordon tried to moderate their transports by expostulating with the mandarins, telling them that this sort of entry was not proper, and would tend to frighten the people inside, and might produce trouble. However, they came pouring in, and some of them went along the walls firing off their muskets in the air and shouting.

About this time General Ching came into the gate, and appeared taken aback at seeing Major Gordon, who went up to him and noticed he was very pale. He asked him if the interview was over, and if it had gone off satisfactorily. He said that Lar Wang and the others had not been to the Futai at all. Major Gordon replied that he had seen him start for the camp with the other Wangs, and that he had told him he was going to the Futai. He then asked if anything had gone wrong. Ching said that Lar Wang had demanded to keep 2000 men (when he had before stated he wanted no men) and the charge of their gates, also charge over half the city, that the Futai had refused to agree to the terms, as he could not then call the city his own. He added that the Wangs refused to obey the Futai's order to place their men in stockades out-

side Tcha-mün, and that Lar Wang had let some of Chung Wang's men come back. He said he thought that Lar Wang, being frightened at the refusal of the Futai, had run away with the other Wangs. On Major Gordon's inquiry, he said that Lar Wang could not go back to the rebels, but that he would go to some village and settle down.

Major Gordon, being at a loss to conceive any reason for Lar Wang's sudden fear, asked Mr. Macartney to go back to Lar Wang's house and to reassure him, which he started to do with Chanzu the interpreter (but whose mission was naturally of no avail, the Lar Wang being dead). General Ching asked Major Gordon if he was going to the Pon-mün, and said he would go with him if he did. Major Gordon kept inquiring, through his interpreter Ching, about Lar Wang; but General Ching persisted in saying he had not been out to the Futai, as he had just come back from the latter's boat. He said that no men but his should be admitted into the city, and that no plundering should be allowed. Now and then his men fired off their muskets, and on Major Gordon remonstrating against this they desisted. General Ching said that this was to make the Kiangsi men run away if they meditated any resistance to the Imperialists taking the city.

Major Gordon being uneasy about Lar Wang, left General Ching to go on to the Shih-mün, and

waited with his interpreter at the Pon-mün. He then questioned his interpreter, who said he thought that there was something improper, but that he had seen Lar Wang coming back from the Futai's boat. Major Gordon then determined to go to Lar Wang's palace, and started off; they passed through streets full of rebels, who were fully armed, and looked menacingly up to Lar Wang's house. Close here they met the Imperialist soldiers loaded with plunder, and when they arrived at the palace they found it gutted, and were accosted by Lar Wang's uncle, a Tienchwang Wangschi, who asked them to come to his house and to conduct there the females of Lar Wang's family.

Being only with his interpreter and unarmed, Major Gordon demurred; but the entreaties of this Tienchwang were so great that he determined to escort them down to the house and then go out for troops. When he got down to the Tienchwang's house he entered a courtyard where there were some 500 or 600 armed men. These men closed the doors, and the Tienchwang refused to let Major Gordon send his interpreter out for assistance.

It was now 7 P.M., and the city was in an uproar. Major Gordon, finding that it was useless trying to induce the Tienchwang to let him send a message for his bodyguard, settled down till 2 A.M. on the 7th December. Large numbers of rebels had assembled round the house for refuge. At 2 A.M.

he persuaded the Tienchwang to let the interpreter take a letter to his boat at Pon-mün to order the steamers to go round from Wulungchow, where they were, and to seize the Futai, in order to keep him prisoner till he had given up the Wangs, who the interpreter said had not been beheaded so soon, and also as a guarantee for his safety and for the lives of the rebels which might be sacrificed the ensuing morning, and another order to the bodyguard to come to his assistance in Wangschi's house. Two rebels started with him to show the way.

About 3 A.M. one of these returned with the news that a party of Imperialists had attacked the interpreter and left him wounded, and that they had torn up the letters. All this time Imperial soldiers in small parties came to the house and were sent away by Major Gordon. On the intelligence of the seizure of his interpreter, Major Gordon prevailed on the Tienchwang to let him go out and seek for him; which he did. He went down with two rebels and could find no trace of the interpreter, and being now near the Pon-mün, he determined to go down to his boat and send off fresh orders. At the Pon-mün the Imperialists detained him an hour, being in suspicious company with two rebels. He got out at last to his boat, and it then being too late to trust to the boatmen to take a message, he started himself for the Low-mün, sending an order to the steamers to go round to the Futai's boat. He got down to the Low-mün at 5.30 A.M., just as the gate was

opened, and sent his bodyguard with Major Brooks, the provost-marshal, to Wangschi's house. His interpreter Ching had escaped with the loss of his outer garments from the Imperialists.

Crowds of people were pouring out of the gate, and Major Gordon prevented the Imperialists from entering the city. Captain Bonnefoy with some of his men came up and entered the city with Major Gordon in order to prevent any massacre, which, however, did not take place, the Imperialists contenting themselves with plunder. Major Gordon, being ignorant of the death of the Wangs, and thinking that they were prisoners in the Futai's camp, waited for the steamers in order to seize the Futai and make him give them up. While waiting at the Low-mün, General Ching came up and attempted to address him, but met with such a storm that he made a precipitate retreat into the city, after vainly attempting to tell Major Gordon that he had only obeyed the Futai's order. Being abused before the rebels and his own bodyguard did not make him feel very comfortable. Major Gordon then went down towards the Futai's boat, and as the steamers were not yet in sight, he waited some distance from the same. General Ching now sent down Major Bailey (an officer Major Gordon had sent with him for instruction in artillery) to explain matters. He said that Ching had gone inside the Low-mün, had shot himself some twenty of his men who were plundering, and then sat down and cried, and had

asked Bailey to come down and tell Major Gordon how he had been forced into the matter by the Futai, etc.

Major Gordon asked Bailey if the Wangs had been executed, or if they were still prisoners. He said he did not know, but that he had got Lar Wang's son in his tent. He brought him to Major Gordon's boat, and he told Major Gordon that his father had been executed on the other side of the creek. Major Gordon asked Prince F. de Wittgenstein if he would go over and see if there was any sign; which he did, and came back and said that there were nine bodies there. Major Gordon went over, and recognised Lar Wang's head and Sing and Kong Wang's heads, and one of the Tienchwangs who had come out to General Ching. There were nine bodies in all; and at the son's request Major Gordon took Lar Wang's head. He could not then find the body, which had been hastily buried. Major Gordon then sent Prince Wittgenstein and Major Brown off to the two adjoining stockades to ascertain if there were any high personages detained as prisoners, but they found that there were none.

Just before leaving, Major Gordon received a letter from Fusaiquan, informing him that Colonel Tumblety, the officer in command, had been negotiating with a rebel chief at Kwanpu, who had come over with his men. Major Gordon sent this officer orders to release the chief and his men, if they

wished, and to let them go back, bringing them to Quinsan if they preferred staying with us.

The reasons of the Futai's acting in this matter were—

1. That he was afraid of the number of men who had come over.

2. He was in arrears of pay to his troops, and therefore was liable to a mutiny if he kept them from plundering, which he was bound to do if he kept the contract. He was offended by the bearing of the rebel chiefs.

Ching's reason was a fear lest Lar Wang, with his popularity and his men, might supplant him with the Futai, for there is little doubt that Lar Wang's advent, in conjunction with this force, to any city would compel its fall; and he was also actuated by a desire to let his men plunder.

It appears that when the Wangs came out they were met by Ching, and that the latter did not accompany them to the Futai, who was in a stockade near his boat; that some conversation passed—of what purport is useless to try and ascertain—that the Futai left, and that the gates were then closed, and the Wangs and Tienchwangs seized and beheaded.

On the 12th December Wusieh was vacated by the rebels, who retired to Chanchufu. The Futai's brother's troops came up close to the south and east gates of Chanchufu, and there established themselves.

On the 29th December General Li-ai-duy came to Major Gordon and informed him that the Futai had received an Imperial decree, and requested Major Gordon to receive Mandarin Pow with sundry presents. Major Gordon told General Li not to bring the presents, as he had no intention of receiving them. Li said that Pow must come, and that he would arrange for them not to bring the presents. He asked for a salute and a guard for Pow when he arrived. Major Gordon agreed to it, and on the 1st January 1864 Pow arrived. Major Gordon went down to meet him at the west gate, and met the procession carrying in the sum of 10,000 taels in open boxes, in which the Sycee shoes were laid on red cloth; also four snake flags, of which the Futai had sent two, and Wang-tetai, a mandarin who had been known to Major Gordon since Fushan, and who commanded the gunboats in the province of Kiangsoo, of which he was admiral, also sent two. Major Gordon made the procession turn about and take the whole lot out again, and returned to his house. Pow arrived soon after, and brought the Emperor's letter, on yellow silk, to a table at the end of the hall, on which were two lighted candles. (General Li had undertaken to have everything in proper order, and this was part of his arrangements.) Pow gave Major Gordon the annexed decree, and Major Gordon wrote his answer on the back of the translation which accompanied it. He then, with the other mandarins, had lunch, and went off to write to the

Futai the result of the visit. Major Gordon accepted Wang-tetai's flags, as this mandarin was not engaged in the Souchow affair at all.

The total number of rebels killed at Souchow did not exceed fifty, exclusive of those executed by the governor.

Li Futai and Ching got Yellow Jackets for the capture of Souchow. *Vide* Gazette concerning capture.

In spite of the behaviour of the Futai at Souchow, the following cities sent in their submission and were admitted to terms, viz. Pinghu, 16th December 1863, Chapu, 20th December 1863, Haiyuen, 21st December 1863, and Kashur, on the 7th January 1864. These cities were in the Che-kiang province, and Li Futai gave Tso Chetai great offence by accepting their submission, as they were not in his province. The ill feeling between these two men, who were both protegés of Tseng kwoh fan, led afterwards to great difficulties. Tso was a greater friend of that person than Li Hung Chung, who was much envied and disliked by the Nankin mandarins for his past victories.

VI

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE 1864

THE beginning of 1864 saw the Imperialists closely besieging Nankin on all sides but that where the road to Tayau leaves the city. They had a large flotilla in the Yangtze, and had in their possession all the forts on the north side. Their entrenchments, double, and even treble in some parts, ran from the Yangtze above Nankin to the Yu-hua-ta hill (Porcelain Tower), which commanded the city, and on the north they extended down from the Isao-hia creek almost to the hills above the Ming tombs, where the rebels still held a strong position.

By this road Chung Wang arrived in January 1864.

In Che-kiang, Hangchow and Yuhang were partially blockaded by Tso Chetai's forces. The Imperialists were very strong, and their works impregnable.

Tsah (the Wai Wang) of Taitsan held the town of Haining, to the north-east of Hangchow. Ting Wang held Hangchow, and another of the Wangs held Yuhang.

Wusieh was held by the Imperialists under the Futai's brother, and he had some camps close to the south gate of Chanchufu, which was held by Hoo Wang, with some Europeans under Smith and the *Firefly* steamer.

The rebels held the following cities besides Nankin :—

In Kiangsoo: Yesing, Liyang, Chanchufu, Tayau, Chuyong, Kintang.

In Che-kiang: Hangchow, Yuhang, Tesing, Wuchufu, Haining, Chapu, Haiyuen, Semen, Kashingfu, Kashur, Pinghu, Pingwang, Kwanteche, Changching.

The disciplined Chinese had returned to Quinsan after the fall of Souchow.

On his arrival at Nankin Ching Wang went to Tien Wang, with the object of persuading him to vacate the city, as famine had now begun its ravages. The Tien Wang said he would issue a decree to meet the difficulty in which the people were, which was, "that they should eat sweet dew." Chung Wang asked: "How could they subsist on sweet dew?" to which the Tien Wang replied: "Let them take of the things the earth brings forth."

Chung Wang remarked that such was not a fit article of food. Tien Wang then gathered some herbs in his garden, made them into a ball, and sent them out to the people, with orders to prepare their food in that manner.

In fact the Tien Wang had made up his mind

for the crisis, and had given up all thought of the future since he had acquired his title. He reposed solely in Heaven, and would put no confidence in men or means.

The Tien Wang ate the sweet dew for some days, but eventually gave it up as not sufficiently nourishing.

About the beginning of February 1864 the Imperialists, who had advanced their stockades and breastworks up to within eighty or one hundred yards of the south-west angle of the city, and driven a gallery to the wall, exploded a large charge of powder, which, however, was not lodged sufficiently under the wall, and which therefore only blew away the face of it. They then assaulted, but were repulsed with heavy loss by Chung Wang.

Souchow, where the Futai had taken up his residence, was still very sparsely populated. Ching's men were in the city.

The whole of the guns and munitions captured at Souchow were given over to Ching, who had now a very good artillery, under one of Major Gordon's old officers, Colonel Bailey.

As the safety of Souchow was considered not sufficiently secured by the possession of Wokong, Ching was detailed to capture Pingwang, a fortified post held by the rebels on the Grand Canal, some eighteen miles south of Wokong; while the recent acquisition of Pinghu, Chapu, Kashur, and Hai-yuen, which had surrendered, made it necessary to

take the place which interfered with free communication with Souchow.

Ching started with 8000 men on the 12th January, and had two steamers with him. He attacked, and opened a heavy fire on the works, which was answered smartly by the rebels, who, however, after holding the place for some hours, thought it best to retire to Kashingfu, some fifteen miles south of this place, on the Grand Canal. Ching then returned to Souchow.

Santagen, the Futai's brother, with some 15,000 Imperialists under Kwosingling Yang, and having with them Rhode and some other foreigners, among whom was Penell, a Frenchman, who, dressed in Chinese costume, had advanced to Chanchufu and entrenched themselves around it from south to east and north. They kept up a desultory fire on the walls, breaching them in many places, but declining to assault. The Hoo Wang and Tso Wang commanded in the city, with Smith the deserter, whose journal was found in Souchow, and some other foreigners, and the *Firefly* steamer.

On the 10th January the rebel position at Pingmiao, some ten miles up the Grand Canal from Chanchufu, made overtures to the Imperialists, which were accepted, and the rebels shaved their heads. They were attacked by Hoo Wang, but held out till Kwosingling could bring up some men to their assistance, but the rebels were so formidable that they drove these off and surrounded the position.

The Imperialists now got together a large force, and making a vigorous attack, on the 18th January 1864, carried the rebel works, and the *Firefly*, not having her steam up, was abandoned. The Imperialists rescued their beleaguered companions, and finding they could not take the steamer away, they blew her up, with her shell, etc. etc., leaving the thirty-two-pounder gun, but taking the twelve-pounder howitzer, and fell back on their stockades. This was a most fortunate affair, for the steamer was worthy of good men. Smith received a wound soon after this in taking a stockade from the Imperialists, from the effects of which he died. He was a good general and a brave man.

After Smith's death the other foreigners left the city from time to time, and were allowed to pass through the Imperialist lines to Souchow and Shanghai. Matters had become too serious for them.

The servant of Lieutenant Easton of the artillery, who had been captured in the *Firefly* in November 1863, escaped from the rebels and came to Quinsan on the 19th January.

While these events were transpiring the Quinsan force were in garrison at that place.

As may have been expected, there were a great number of wounded officers and men, the victims of the late actions, and it was necessary to pay the various compensations to the wounded, and this required a large sum. The Futai had had to pay £20,000 for the extra month's pay to the force, and

these compensations for the loss of arms, eyes, legs, etc., amounted to £20,000 more, which the Futai had to pay. There were besides certain claims to be adjusted, which were also met.

During January there were constantly quarrels between the officers, who, jealous of one another, were disputing who should command if Major Gordon was recalled. The rebels were by no means vanquished, and there were rumours rife that Europeans and foreigners were again joining them. Some of these men were taken up for looting the people on the 18th January, and on the Souchow creek a storekeeper, Horgan, and an old officer of the force, Baker, had a few days before been murdered; it was evident that rowdyism was rising again, and that the rebel sympathisers were again at work.

Major Gordon therefore determined on action, and for the following reasons :—

1st. That the nature of the force would not allow it to remain idle.

2d. That no hope of an adjustment was likely to come from Pekin.

3d. That the removal of the Futai by the Pekin Government for an act not looked on as a crime by the Imperialist Government or by the Chinese, at the dictation of a foreign Government, would strike a severe blow at the independence of the Chinese Empire, and cause Tseng kwoh fan and others to disregard its edicts still more.

4th. That the people of the country were the only sufferers by its dissolution, the Imperialist leaders being only too glad of it.

5th. That the force could not be maintained in quiet for the defence of Shanghai.

6th. That there was great movement among the rowdy population and rebel sympathisers, who thought their prospects looked up.

7th. That the agreement broken through by the Futai was between Major Gordon and himself, and to which the force was not privy.

8th. That already overtures had been made to some officers of the force with a view of superseding Major Gordon, in which case our Government would have no control over it.

9th. That the Futai had been very fairly punished, having had to pay up without a word £50,000, and been rebuked from Pekin.

10th. That it was a very great hardship on the country to make them pay £28,000 a month for a force that could do nothing.

11th. That Major Gordon saw two months would complete the work, which, if he left, would last perhaps twelve months.

Such were the reasons which actuated Major Gordon, and after long consideration determined him to visit the Futai at Souchow.

He accordingly did so with Mr. Hart, the Inspector-General of Customs, on the 1st February, taking with him Pei Wang's son.

In the interview nothing respecting the recent breach of faith was mentioned, it being agreed on that such was to be the case; the conversation was on the rebellion, and the steps to be taken which should lead to its speedy extinction, and to the disbandment of the force.

The district occupied by the rebels at this time was hour-glass shaped, the lower portion consisting of the towns of Wuchufu, Tesing, Yuhang, Kangchuope, Semen, Kashingfu, Changching; and the upper portion, Nankin, Tayau, Kintang, Chuyong.

The two towns of Yesing and Liyang may be considered the connecting junction. These towns were some fifty miles distant from one another, and the rebel district was about ninety miles wide at this part.

On the other side was a large force of Imperialists under Pao-chiao, who were acting as covering army to Tseng kwoh tsuen in his attack on Nankin.

Major Gordon proposed to make a dash at these two towns, Yesing and Liyang, and thus cutting the rebellion in two, to turn northwards, and capturing Kintang and Tayau, to come down on Chanchufu. The Futai agreed to the project, and gave orders to Kwosingling and 50,000 men to accompany him, General Ching and his force being detailed to attack Kashingfu.

It is necessary to remark that Tsah (Wai Wang) of Taitsan, who was in charge of Haining, made overtures to Tso Chetai, and was allowed to come over

with his troops to the Imperialists on the 25th January. This made Li Futai very angry, for this man Tsah had deluded his brother into the city of Taitsan, and then treacherously fell on his troops, as has been narrated.

His defection had a great effect on Tso Chetai's attack on Hangkow—to which place, in the middle of February, he summoned the Franco-Chinese under D'Aiquebelle, who were in Shoushing.

The Wangs in Kashingfu sent delegates to Li Futai to ask to be admitted to terms, but he had been snubbed about accepting the submission of Pinghu, Chapu, and Kashur, so he would not entertain them, but sent them on to Tso Chetai at the same time as he sent Ching against Kashingfu.

It was arranged between the Futai and Major Gordon that Li should issue a proclamation clearing the latter from any participation in the execution of the Wangs, which he accordingly did on the 4th February. The son of Nai Wang, a youth of eighteen, was introduced to the Futai, and given the rank of a major by him.

Major Gordon returned to Quinsan, and determined to take the field with his whole force. Every preparation was made by the 17th February, and the force marched on the 18th, leaving Colonel Murant and 200 men in Quinsan as a garrison. The weather was bitterly cold, and snow was falling, but there was no time to lose if the

operations were to be completed before the summer heats began.

Major Gordon went in the *Hyson* by the Taiho lake to Wusieh, where the force who had marched by Souchow met him outside the north gate on the 24th February. The Imperialists under Kwosingling not being ready, they halted there till the 27th February.

General Ching started at the same time for Pingwang *en route* for Kashingfu.

While at the village off the north gate of Wusieh, by accident the remains of Dolly, Easton, Martin, and Perry were discovered. They had been hastily buried by the Imperialist troops on their capture of the place by order of the Futai. On further inquiry an old woman showed the place where they had been buried, and where we found fragments of their clothing, and this was at the very time that the rebel sympathisers were declaring that they were safe at Chanchufu.

White, one of the men who was engaged in the capture of the *Firefly*, came down to Shanghai about this time, and was arrested, tried, and condemned to two years' imprisonment. Lindlay, however, escaped.

On the 27th the infantry marched thirty miles by a by-path to Hochiao, where they were joined by the artillery, which had proceeded by water.

Kwosingling was encamped there with his Imperialists.

This village, or rather town, was some eight miles from the north gate of Yesing. The country round Yesing and Wusieh was perfectly destitute of people—the few that were seen were in the last stage of famine, which speaks for the rebel chiefs' mode of rule, for since 1860 no Imperialists had been here, nor had any fighting been carried on in the neighbourhood.

The *Hyson* steamer under Captain Davidson was sent to cross the Taiho lake and to rejoin the force under the walls of Yesing.

On the 28th February Major Gordon advanced with a small party and reconnoitred Yesing.

It was a small walled city two miles in circumference, having its east and west sides covered by lakes. The wall was in good repair, and the ditch evidently broad.

The rebels opened a very accurate fire from the north gate from a twelve-pounder gun, but did no harm.

It was determined to conduct part of the force across the lake at the east side (from which direction the *Hyson* was expected), and to take possession of the village at the south-east angle, and thence to seize the stockades on the south side, and to cut off the communication with the next city—Liyang.

The rebels were unaware of the approach of the force, and Shon Wang (Tang) had no idea of his danger.

A large number of boats were sure to be passing from the east gate towards the Taiho.

Accordingly, at daybreak on the 29th the force marched to about half-a-mile from the north gate, where a large creek leads from the canal from Hochiao to the lake on the east side of the city.

Major Gordon passed some eight or ten boats into this canal, and with the 3d and 4th Regiments marched down to the north bank of the lake. The rebels appeared in strength in the village on the opposite shore.

At about 4 P.M. Major Gordon placed some 200 men in the boats, and covered by the fire of a field-piece crossed the lake, and drove the rebels out of the village into their stockades, which were separated from the village by a bridged creek, which the rebels broke loose after the mass of their force got away. They suffered some loss, while on our side there were two or three wounded.

The village was full of the most miserable objects ever seen, of all ages and sizes, and were in a most pitiable condition, in the direst want. These people were consuming human flesh, and the babies of those who had died were lying about unburied, with pieces cut out of them by the survivors. Words cannot express the state of these poor villagers. Everything was done that could be to relieve their distress.

The 3d and 4th Regiments remained in the

village that night, while the remainder of the force camped at the north gate.

A letter was received from the *Hyson* with the news that she was engaged breaking down a bridge which she could not get through.

On the 1st March Major Gordon, with Colonel Howard, started to reconnoitre the country around, with a view of turning the rebel stockades which were close to the village, and which, if approached from the village, would not have been easy to capture. They had to make a detour, and having left their boats to ascend a small hill, were nearly cut off by some rebel horsemen, upon which they returned to camp. And by this time the light artillery and the remainder of the infantry having joined them, the plan of attack was decided on.

The 1st, 3d, and 4th Regiments were to move round by the hill before mentioned, and at the ping of a rocket to come down to a point midway between the stockade (close to the village off south-east angle) and the fortified bridge over the creek opposite to and 200 yards distant from the south gate, while Major Gordon was to have the boats ready to ferry them over in rear of the stockade. The detour was necessary, as the country was so intersected with creeks; and as the infantry had to march much farther than the boats had to go, it was necessary for them to start first, as if the rebels saw the boats being placed they would have taken steps to prevent the landing.

The infantry started at 9 A.M., 1st March, and when they were known to be about the place where they should be when the rocket was fired, the signal was given and the boats began to move up. But no infantry appeared. More rockets were fired, but with no result, while heavy firing was heard away in the hills some distance off.

Major Gordon had arranged with the mandarins to attack the stockades at 11 A.M., and at last determined to try and take them with the 2d Regiment under Colonel Williams. Accordingly the boats were placed, and under fire of the light artillery the men rowed across behind the rebel stockades. Although only fifty crossed, the rebels wavered, and at last broke and ran. They were taken completely by surprise, thinking all the force had left. Upwards of five stockades and a large number of prisoners were taken.[1]

At the moment of this capture the firing approached nearer, and just as the rebels, who were in great strength on the fortified bridge, were turning to attack the 2d Regiment (and, in fact, had already detached a party, who, however, were met by Dr. Moffitt and some twenty men and driven back), the head of the infantry column was seen in the distance, driving before a large body of rebels on to

[1] Tai Wang's son behaved very well. Colonel Rhode took the chief prisoner, who shot him in the arm, but not seriously.

Major Gordon here met Pei Wang, who was one of the Wangs of Souchow who escaped massacre. This man was about twenty-six years old. He was a very fine young man, and was with a mandarin as servant.

the defenders of the bridge. It appears that, mistaking the orders, they had got too far into the hills, and had come across a large body of rebels coming as a reinforcement from Liyang, that they had engaged these men and driven them back, and then had pursued them towards the city.

For a mile distant from this bridge the road is a mere strip or band with a deep creek on each side of it, so that once on it there was no chance of escaping to the right or left.

Along this road came the fugitives, pursued by the infantry. The Yesing rebels holding the bridge would not open the gates to them, but also opened fire. The scene was indescribable. Taken in rear by the infantry, and checked in front by their own people they had come to assist, and who now fired on them, they became desperate, and at last, with sheer force, carried away the gateway and forced the bridge. There was no time for rallying, for the infantry pressed on, and joined by a flanking party under Dr. Moffitt, pushed the fugitives up to the very walls. The rebel loss was very great, while ours was—killed, Lieutenant Herzog and four men, with eleven wounded. Thus fell in a morning all the stockades of the rebels south and east of the city.

The possession of the bridge gave us the command of the lake on the west side, as by the creek it spanned the steamer could be passed into it. The *Hyson* arrived that night, and the whole force was

collected at the south of the city, with the exception of the 5th Regiment, which remained after the capture of the south gate stockade. Major Gordon went round, and with the 5th Regiment reconnoitred from the north gate to the bank of the lake on the west side.

After a long discussion with the mandarins, it was decided to leave the rebels the route if they wished to escape by it, and therefore no stockade was erected on it.

At 2 A.M. a rebel chief came out of the city to say that the Shon Wang had left with 300 men, having before he did so pillaged every one else, and that the city was given up. Major Gordon would not allow the men to enter it, as his farther march would have been delayed if he had done so. He arranged with the Imperialists, and saw the same carried out, that no rebels were to be killed, and then went on and encamped with the force at a village on the lake *en route* to Liyang. Some 5000 prisoners were taken, among whom a half-witted Malay, but after their heads had been shaved they were released.

If he had allowed the men to loot the mass of them would have deserted, for they did not much like this hazardous march through the rebel country, and thought they were bound for Nankin. They expressed their dissatisfaction in such a pronounced way that one had to be shot before the disturbance could be quelled.

On the 2d March the men were paid, and Major Gordon went to the city, which was being pillaged by the starving villagers, who had at last enough rice to eat.

At the gate of the city he met a delegate from Tapuku, a large village nine miles from Yesing, on the shore of Taiho lake, who brought him letters to say that of a force of 3000 rebels 2000 had shaved their heads, and that the other 1000, under a chief Ching-wong-sei, would not do so, and holding the road to Yesing would not let them escape. The rebels who had shaved begged for assistance, as they feared that the Wuchupu rebels, who had been sent for by Ching, would come up and attack them.

Major Gordon started that night with 500 men and some light artillery in boats to relieve them, and reached the neighbourhood at 10 P.M., where the rebel chiefs came down to the boats to give information of the position of the rebels who would not surrender.

Major Gordon ordered two guns to be fired, to let them know of the arrival of his force.

It was rather a critical operation to attack the position, for the rebels who submitted were on one side of the creek in five stockades, while those who held out were in two stockades on the other, and there were, and will always be, doubts as to the good faith of the party who had given in.[1]

[1] The country about here was strewn with corpses of the people who had died of famine.

The troops advanced at daybreak, 3d March, and fortunately the rebels who still wished to hold out retreated after the first shell set fire to their stockades. It would have been difficult to have directed the attack only on their stockades and to have avoided the others, so close were they together.

These rebels now returned with the troops to Yesing, having to cross the creeks where the bridges were broken by boats, a long operation, which delayed their arrival till dusk that evening.

Everything was ready on the morning of the 4th March for the march on Liyang, Yesing being garrisoned by the Imperialists.

Colonels Kirkham and Rhode were sent in advance with some twenty mounted men to reconnoitre the road. The steamer *Hyson* and the flotilla were sent on by the lake, with instructions to proceed some twelve miles, and then to feel their left, so as to ascertain the position of the infantry, who marched by a road which did not quite follow the water communication. Major Gordon had arranged that the infantry should halt after a march of twelve or fifteen miles, and had given instructions as to where the boats should join them.

The troops marched at 8 A.M., 4th March, and reached the point where the boats should have met them at 3 P.M. The mounted party proceeded on some two miles, when they saw some horsemen coming towards them, which they took for Im-

perialists. They were in a village, and did not think that the rebels were near. All of a sudden one party of the horsemen came down on the village and the other came round it so as to intercept their retreat. It was She Wang and his cavalry. The party scrambled back as they could, losing two or three ponies and one sergeant, a Chinaman, who was taken prisoner (this was the first prisoner Major Gordon had had taken in this affair), and had it not been for the proximity of the infantry the whole party might have been captured: it appeared afterwards that the rebels held a fortified post some two miles farther on.

The infantry halted for the night, which was very cold, with no rations, owing to the non-arrival of the boats.

There was no sign of them up to 11 A.M. the next day, 5th March, and the country was quite deserted of any one who could give information.

At 11 A.M. a rebel boat with one man was captured, and Major Gordon started with her in the direction of where he thought the steamer and boats ought to be. He had to go some eight miles, when he sent his own boat at a stockade, and, getting into her, directed the other boats where to go. He found, however, that the steamer, with the artillery and commissariat boats, had gone on towards Liyang. He went on after them some four miles, and found them at a broken bridge not more than four miles from the city of Liyang, just commencing an engage-

ment with the rebel stockades at that place, and where the rebels evidently were in great strength, and were coming out to fight. He ordered the whole force to retire to where he met his boat, which was at a large stone fort which the *Hyson* had driven the rebels out of on their advance from Yesing the previous day, and taking the commissariat boats and those belonging to the officers of the force, started to convoy them back to the infantry. It was now 7 P.M., and almost dark, while the creek bank was very intricate.

After a great deal of trouble, by 2 P.M. the next day, the 6th March, all the boats had joined the infantry, the intricacy of the creeks giving a deal of anxiety, the artillery and the *Hyson* being at the captured stockade some eight miles distant.

The men had suffered a good deal for want of food, and the officers had killed their loot ponies for them.

It should be mentioned that Kwosingling and his men were badly off, and appeared ignorant of the country. Major Gordon brought their boats back as well as his own. The rebels had vacated their outpost, and the body of the poor sergeant, much mutilated, was found and buried.

The infantry halted where they were on the 7th March, while Major Gordon surveyed the country between the stockade at Hochiao, where the artillery was stationed as well as the infantry, with a view to

bringing the latter across country to the former the next day.

There were eight bridges of boats or ferries to be arranged over creeks.

Arrangements being made, the infantry started at 7 A.M., and were conveyed safely to Hochiao, Kwosingling's troops being taken over as well.

The immense number of creeks which abound here, the absence of roads (though the rebels have broken all the bridges on them for miles around), and the complete desolation which reigned in these parts, had a depressing effect on the men, who knew that there were rebels on every side of them, and that they had no road of retreat. There was with the force plenty of provisions and ammunition, while the presence of the *Hyson* gave the men great assurance.

The whole of the troops arrived and joined the artillery at Hochiao at 6 P.M. on the 8th March.

The Futai had suggested to Major Gordon after the fall of Yesing that he should go against Chanchufu, as he dreaded the flank march to Liyang, which, however, was well worth the risk, as it aided the Imperialists in their attack on Nankin and Hangchow, as well as the Futai's forces at Chanchufu, and if achieved would deal a far heavier blow to the rebellion than the mere capture of a city.

That it was a risk there is no doubt, for the force was liable to attack on all sides from the rebels, but Major Gordon had weighed the chances, knowing of

the discussion between the rebel leaders, and trusting to the quickness of his movements for success; and although the country was much intersected with creeks and lakes, he knew that this water force was so strong as to defy any flotilla that the rebels could send against him, while the roads being few and the bridges broken on them, he had no fear of attack from a land force. He had the *Hyson*, with her thirty-two-pounder and twelve-pounder howitzer, planked with three-inch elm and loop-holed, with her steam-chest well covered with planking to protect against any such accident as happened to the *Tsatlee*, by which she was rendered like a movable fort, three large boats with twenty-four-pounder howitzers on slides mounted on the bows, another boat with a thirty-two-pounder gun twenty-five cwt., and four other lighter boats, with four two-fifth howitzers on the bow, all of which were planked in so as to prevent being fired into by musketry; and some twenty gunboats, carrying twelve-pounder or nine-pounder more guns, a most formidable array, and one which rendered him quite safe on the water. He had fourteen days' rations with him for the troops, and plenty of ammunition.

At 7 P.M. two small boats belonging to some of the officers came down the canal from Liyang; they had missed their way on the 6th March, and by mistake gone on straight to Liyang. They brought letters from the city to the effect that they wanted to surrender.

It appears that She Wang (Attendant King), who had returned to Liyang after the fall of Souchow and Wusieh, had heard of the arrival of the force at Yesing from Shon Wang, who had passed the city on his way to Kintang, and had received Ching-wong-sei into the city with his men after he had been driven from Tapuku. He had great doubts of the fidelity of Woo, his second in command, and therefore, when he heard of the advance of the steamer, felt that he could not leave the city with safety in his (Woo's) hands. The arrival of Ching-wong-sei, however, was opportune, for he thought that, surely as the man had refused to surrender at Tapuku, he was safe to hold out in Liyang. He sent for him and told him his fear about Woo.

Ching-wong-sei offered to lead the rebels out against the steamer, which so assured She Wang that he gave him charge of the city, and started on the morning of the 6th March to the outer stockades near the broken bridge, where he saw the steamer and boats retire, as he thought, on his advance, but which retreat was made, as already has been narrated, by order of Major Gordon.

He returned to Liyang that evening, and on coming to the gate was refused admittance and fired on from the walls. Ching-wong-sei and Woo had determined to give up the city, and the only reason the former had in not surrendering at Tapuku was that had he done so the She Wang would have

seized his family and property, which were at Liyang, and executed the former.

She Wang then begged his mother and family might be allowed to come out to him, which they would not consent to, so he went off and encamped in the hills near the city with 500 men of his force. At this time the two boats which had missed their way arrived, and the officers' servants were taken to Woo, who sent them back with the boats untouched, with letters to Major Gordon.

Major Gordon started that evening at 9 P.M., and proceeded up to the broken bridge with the *Hyson* and 200 men of the 4th Regiment, leaving orders for the whole force to follow the next day. Kwosingling and Li-ai-duy accompanied him.

The rebels' stockades at this bridge were deserted. They were very strong, and were eight or ten in number.

At dawn on the 9th March Major Gordon started for the city with 200 infantry and General Li-ai-duy and Kwosingling.

He passed through another range of vacated stockades, and then through a village outside the east gate, where the people met him in a procession.

A little farther on, and nearer the city defending a bridge over the canal, was a strong earthwork with abatis, etc. This was evidently manned, but no people appeared. The two mandarins were in great fear, as they thought that there was treachery

meant. Major Gordon went up with ten men and called out to the garrison of the stockade (who came to the walls—they had not shaved their heads), and entered into conversation with them, moving at the same time to the rear of the stockade, and eventually entering it, so that with the men he had he would have been able to maintain himself in it till the 200 men who had been sent for were close up; thus, even if treachery had been meditated, a very important stockade was gained.

Major Gordon then sent a rebel into the city to ask the chiefs to come out, which they did after a little delay, and terms were then arranged on, viz. that the rebels were not to be looted or killed, and that they might go where they liked.

Major Gordon then went up to the gate of the city and waited there till the rebel chiefs had withdrawn their men from the gates of the city in order that the disciplined Chinese might take those posts. While there a petty mandarin arrived with twenty men, who had ridden in from Tungpa, where Pao-chiao's forces were, some thirty miles distant from Liyang, with a letter to ascertain if it was true the city had surrendered. Major Gordon sent a letter to Pao-chiao reporting the surrender and the arrival of his force at Liyang, and thus the split of the rebel territory into two.

The troops arrived soon after, having had to make twenty-three bridges over creeks, and were stationed at each gate. Just as they were entering

a large body of troops were seen coming towards the city, who were at first taken for She Wang's men, but turned out to be part of the rebels of Liyang, who had gone out against him and driven him away.

The city was some three miles in circumference, with a formidable ditch and a system of stockades around it which surpassed any in strength yet seen, both in number and design, having three to four ditches and quantities of abatis; the ditch, however, was crammed full of boats all around the city of all sizes and kinds. The number of rebels who surrendered in the city and stockades were 15,000; they were well armed and clothed, and the city was full of rice and provisions, which for the most part was given to the starving people in the neighbourhood, and who had not even rice for seed before the place was surrendered.

Twenty-four gunboats were taken and joined the service, increasing the flotilla considerably.

The small dingy of the *Firefly* was also found here, and a Manilla man who had been taken prisoner at Wuchufu in 1860. At the time of the rebels capturing that place it appears that a small steamer was sent up to assist in its defence, which was captured by the rebels owing to the breakage of its fan. The captain had been allowed to go to Shanghai on the promise that he would return with a new fan, which he never did. The Manilla man with others of the crew were kept hostages, and

were not allowed to go. They eventually escaped, with the exception of the Manilla and another Englishman, who died a few months before the arrival of the force at Liyang.

Just as Major Gordon was going into the city he was called back by some rebels to a large boat where the She Wang's mother, a woman of seventy, his wife, a woman of twenty-five, his aunt, and son, a small boy of seven years old, were kept prisoners, and whom the rebels wanted to kill, as the She Wang had been very cruel to them in many ways, and in which he had been aided and abetted by his mother.

She Wang had been a butcher before the rebellion.

Kwosingling wanted to take the family and send them to the Futai, but Major Gordon would not allow it, and gave them over to General Li to send down to Quinsan in safety. The old lady was very obstreperous and violent.

She Wang was kind to his soldiery, but very severe to the people. He had burnt a man to death a short time before for meditating treachery. He was on bad terms with Tien Wang, and wanted him to leave Nankin. His palace in Liyang was very fine. It was an immense building with yellow tiles, and was well fitted up, or rather had been, for it had been pillaged by Woo and Chang-wong-sei before the city had been given up. Chung Wang's sword of office was captured in the palace which

he had given She Wang at Wusieh before he went back to Nankin.

The rebels were disarmed on the 10th March, about 1000 taken into the ranks, and another 1000 or 1500 taken under their own leaders into the pay, and who were attached to the force. This was an experiment, as Major Gordon thought that if they were directed where to go they would fight as well under their own officers as under European officers. They were armed with muskets, and taught the elements of drill.

A letter was sent to Kintang to offer the same terms as Liyang had, but no answer was received.

Kwosingling's troops, who were not allowed into Liyang, went on to Kintang on the 12th March, while the force was engaged in clearing the boats out of the ditch and putting the city into a state of defence.

On the 15th March Major Gordon reconnoitred the route leading to Kintang, returning the same day.

On the 16th March the 1st, 2d, and 5th Regiments, with part of the heavy and light artillery, started for Kintang (leaving General Li and the remainder of the force at Liyang to garrison it). The troops halted ten miles from Liyang owing to the bad weather.

During that night Kwosingling passed on his way back from Kintang, where he had been repulsed in a skirmish with the garrison. Major Gordon at

and Major Gordon knew that this defeat, under the eyes of the garrison and under their most popular leader, would not tend to allay the same. He issued the following General Order, which somewhat raised our hopes :—

"GENERAL ORDER

"LOW-MUN, SOUCHOW,
"*30th November* 1863.

"The commanding officer congratulates the officers and men of the force on their gallant conduct of yesterday. The tenacity of the enemy, and the great strength of their position, have unfortunately caused many casualties and the loss of many valuable officers and men. The enemy, however, has now felt our strength, and, although fully prepared, and animated with the presence of their most popular chiefs, has been driven out of a position which surpasses in strength any yet taken from him. The loss of the whole of the stockades on the east side of the city, up to the walls, has already had its effect, and dissension is now rife in the garrison, which, hemmed in on all sides, is already, in fact, negotiating defection.

"The commanding officer feels most deeply the heavy loss, but convinced that the same will not be experienced again. The possession of the position of yesterday renders the occupation of the city by the rebels untenable, and thus victualling the city is lost to them."

General Ching came up about 2 P.M. to Major Gordon, and renewed the conversation with respect to the Wangs. He said that he had gathered from the prisoners that had been taken that neither Lar Wang nor the other Wangs who had entered into negotiations had been engaged in the late encounter, nor any of their troops. (We heard afterwards that Chung Wang, when at Low-mün staying the flight of the troops, had met Lar Wang and his

force; that Chung Wang, who had sent three or four orders to Lar Wang to come up, was much incensed with him, and blamed him severely for his tardiness, laying the loss of the stockades on him. Lar Wang's excuse was that he had a long way to come up. He had delayed purposely till the firing had nearly ceased.)

During the afternoon the rebels still held the north gate stockades, and also one on the edge of the large creek leading from the Yansingho lake direct to the north-east angle of the city.

On the morning of the 30th November we found the rebels had vacated all the north gate stockades, and also that on the edge of the creek leading to the north-east angle of the city. Major Gordon and General Ching visited these stockades, and the former arranged to occupy them the next day, General Ching's men taking charge of those he himself vacated. The evacuation of these stockades by the rebels saved us a great amount of trouble, as they were very strong and supported one another. We had now nothing between us and the city, and our attack could commence at any time. The rebels had mounted a twenty-four-pounder gun on siege-carriage on north-east angle, and they fired some well-directed shell into our stockades during the day. The whole of the siege ammunition was sent for from Waiquaidong.

On the 30th General Ching renewed the conversation with Major Gordon relative to the defec-

tion of the garrison, and told him that Chung Wang had gone back, on the night of the 29th, to Wusieh, and it was Lar Wang's troops who had vacated the north gate stockades, and that he thought everything was going on well. The preparations for attack were, however, not suspended. We heard afterwards that Chung Wang was desirous of leaving the Tien Wang to his fate. Lar Wang would not accede to the request of Chung Wang, as he was already compromised with the Imperialists. Chung Wang wept over the loss of the city, which, he said, he would not have cried for if it had not been Souchow. He thought it was useless defending it, but Mow Wang was stubborn to the last.

On the morning of the 1st December our troops vacated the stockades in front of the east gate, or Low-mün, and moved more to the north side, the two nearest stockades to the north-east angle being occupied by the 4th and 2d Regiments respectively, the former occupying the stockade near the edge of the creek leading to the north-east angle. This stockade was some 700 yards from the angle. We could plainly see Europeans about the gun at this angle, who fired occasional shots and waved their caps. We did not fire, as the men were Lar Wang's, and we did not wish unnecessarily to fire on them. The 3d and 5th Regiments and artillery were kept in reserve in rear of the two stockades. The Futai had come up to Waiquaidong on the 20th

November, and had been present at the night and day attacks on the Low-mün stockades.

As no move of troops took place after 1st December till the fall of the city, it may be as well to recapitulate the position of our forces and those of the rebels, viz. we had—

	Imperialists.	Quinsan Force.	French Force.
In Taiho lake, steamers *Tsatlee* and *Hyson* . . .	...	...	...
At Stockades, Wulungchow .	1,000	...	...
„ Patachiao .	1,500	...	...
„ Off Low-mün .	6,700	...	...
„ North-east angle	...	2500	350
„ Leeku . .	300	...	...
„ Wanti . .	150	...	...
„ Fusaiquan .	500	400	...
Total .	10,150	2900	350

Of this disposable for attack we had—

Imperialists	3000
Quinsan Force	2300
French Force	300
Total	5600

This is the very highest computation. The rebels had in the city, since the evacuation of the north gate stockades, from 25,000 to 35,000 men. They held Moodow, on the Taiho lake, in force, and had 3000 men at Quamqu, near the stockades at Fusaiquan. In this statement no account is taken of Chung Wang and his force, or of the Imperialists

under the Futai's brother, who, on the evacuation of Mahtanchow by Chung Wang, had occupied the vacated position, and which he reported to his brother as a great victory over the rebels.

General Ching came over at noon to Major Gordon, and asked him if he would meet these rebel chiefs who were coming over to him that night, and were going to discuss matters. Major Gordon agreed; and at 10 P.M. was sent for by General Ching, and went to his boat. He found there a guard of his own men. The three chiefs had come down to our 2d Regiment pickets and had asked for General Ching, and had been taken down to him under escort. Major Gordon saw the three chiefs, who were fine young men from twenty-five to twenty-eight years of age, but nothing passed but some trifling conversation during Major Gordon's visit. They, however, remained in General Ching's camp that night.

On the 2d December preparations were made for the attack, and the sites of the batteries fixed on. General Ching came over to see the bridge, and asked Major Gordon if he would come that evening and meet the Lar Wang off the north gate. He said he thought it quite unnecessary—that he had been before on good terms with this chief. Major Gordon added that he trusted the Futai would grant such terms as would induce the chiefs to surrender, as, from our late heavy losses, and from the great width of the ditch (upwards of seventy yards), we

could not look on our success as certain. Ching, however, pressed on Major Gordon to accompany him. Major Gordon was then engaged with the pontoon bridge, which was about seventy-four yards long, and could have been carried by 100 men. The Futai came up soon after, and Major Gordon pressed on him also the necessity of granting good terms to the Wangs, to which he assented, but did not think they would come over. This was about 3 P.M. on the 2d December.

Soon after the Futai had left two of the rebel chiefs, who had come out the night before, came and inspected the bridge and siege-guns. They had not shaved their heads. About 4 P.M. a fine-looking young rebel came into our lines from the Tche-mün, or north gate. He asked for General Ching, to whom he was taken. When there he said that there was a report in Souchow that Lar Wang was likely to come over, and that he had come to inquire, as he wanted to come over with 100 men. He was detained by General Ching for fear of his giving information to Mow Wang.

At 7 P.M. Major Gordon started to meet General Ching, and proceeded with him to the point where the creek from the Yansingho lake joins the canal leading from the north gate, or Tche-mün, to Leeku and Chanzu.

About 9.15 P.M. Lar Wang arrived, and was seen by General Ching first. The latter, after some conversation with Lar Wang, went to Major

Gordon and asked him to come in. Lar Wang was most polite, and, after the first salutations were over, he said that he was anxious to obtain Major Gordon's assistance. (General Ching had previously stated to Major Gordon that Lar Wang was most anxious that we should attack the city, when he would not assist in its defence, but that his troops should wear white turbans; and the conditions he required were that he and his friends should be protected on our entry.) Major Gordon, referring to this proposal, told Lar Wang that he should be only deceiving him if he agreed to the terms, as, if the city were attacked and captured, it would be impossible for him to restrain an undisciplined force, such as he commanded, from plundering everywhere and every one, and that they would not discriminate between those who wore white turbans and those who did not, it being just as likely that the combatants would, if they saw the day going against them, put on the same. Major Gordon added that, if they were sincere in their wish to come over, they had better give over a gate as guarantee of their good faith, and that, if they could not do that, they had better vacate the city or fight it out.

Major Gordon discussed with Lar Wang the rebel chances of ultimate success, hemmed in as they were, and recommended him to arrange terms with the Imperialists before matters had progressed too far. He said that he would discuss matters with

Ching and see if he could arrange some mode of coming over. He was anxious to delay till the 6th December, and General Ching was as anxious to hurry the matter. Lar Wang asked Major Gordon if he would delay his attack till the 6th, and the latter replied that he would if General Ching thought it advisable. Major Gordon, in consenting to delay the attack, cautioned Lar Wang against the risk there was of Mow Wang's hearing of the matter, or of Chung Wang's coming back. Lar Wang answered that he did not care if either of these eventualities happened, that he had enough troops to take both of them prisoners, and that he, holding four gates out of the six, was always safe. (He held the Low-mün, Tche-mün, Tcha-mün, and Shih-mün. Mow Wang's men held the Fual-mün and the Pon-mün.)

After some unimportant conversation Major Gordon left in order that General Ching and Lar Wang might arrange the terms, etc. General Ching had exchanged cards with Lar Wang, *i.e.* had sworn brotherhood with him. This habit exists among the rebels, and is of great force. Seven or eight men exchange cards, and thus are bound to die for one another, should it be necessary. Ching also was acquainted with Lar Wang in earlier days, when the former was in the rebel ranks. Major Gordon returned to camp at 10 P.M.

On the morning of the 3d December General Ching came over and told Major Gordon that his

arrangements with Lar Wang had progressed favourably, and that the latter had agreed to consult with the other Wangs on the subject. He said a deserter had come into his lines that morning, who said that Mow Wang had some suspicion of Lar Wang's visit, and was anxious to seize him, but that Lar Wang was prepared against him. (It appeared after that some two or three of Mow Wang's Tienchwangs knew of Lar Wang having left the city, and, not daring to bring the matter to Mow Wang's notice in case of it having been done by his sanction, they left the city, and thus aroused Mow Wang's suspicions.) In the afternoon he came over again to Major Gordon, and told him that Lar Wang had consulted with the other Wangs, and they had agreed to come over, but had some difficulty in dealing with Mow Wang, whose suspicions were aroused, and that he, Ching, had sent in to say that if they were determined to come over they could not fear one man.

On the morning of the 4th December General Ching visited Major Gordon, and told him that Lar Wang had determined, with the other Wangs, to get Mow Wang on the north-east angle of the city, ostensibly to look at our batteries in course of construction, but really to throw him down the wall. A boat would be in readiness to seize him and bring him over a prisoner. Ching asked Major Gordon to have 200 men ready to march to the north gate, and to patrol through the city when this had

taken place, to show the rebels that we would keep faith with them, and to overawe Mow Wang's men. Major Gordon detailed this party, and determined to keep Mow Wang himself. He afterwards (about 2 P.M.) went to General Ching, and told him his intentions of keeping Mow Wang, and of preventing the Futai from seizing him. General Ching appeared very glad of this, as he said he was an old acquaintance of his. Major Gordon then went down to the Futai, who was out; but he told Paon (a very high civil mandarin, who owned the greater part of the property around Souchow), and he agreed to tell the Futai.

It was now nearly 4 P.M., and on Major Gordon returning to his camp he met a boat with two Frenchmen[1] and a Chinese boy, who had been sent over by General Ching. These two men had just escaped from Souchow. They stated that at 11 A.M. that morning the Mow Wang had sent for Lar Wang, who had an hour's amicable conversation with him; that, after that, all the other Wangs, viz. Kong Wang, Sing Wang, Pei Wang, etc., came in, and Mow Wang had a dinner prepared for them in the inner hall; that, after the dinner, they had offered up prayers and then arrayed themselves in their robes, crowns, etc., all except Sing Wang; that they adjourned into the reception hall; that Mow Wang

[1] Radinor and Bertrand. They were deserters from the French Zephyrs at Shanghai, had been *sous-officiers* in the French army, and were good men. They were often seen on the walls.

had seated himself at the head of the table, which was on a raised daïs, having Lar Wang on his left and Kong Wang on his right, Sing Wang leaning over the back of Kong Wang's chair; that Mow Wang had got up and made a speech to the Wangs, and that they had answered in succession — Lar Wang not speaking; that the discussion seemed to get angry, and that accordingly they (the two Frenchmen) had gone into their rooms, which were close by. Very soon after they heard a great commotion and cries of "tsah, tsah" ("kill, kill"); that one of the Wangs (Ning Wang) rushed into their room with his crown off and robes torn, begging for safety; that Lar Wang stood at the door and kept the others off him; that they had got out of the room and gained the courtyard, now full of soldiers plundering on all sides; they saw there the body of Mow Wang on one side of the threshold and his head on the other side, and saw the Wangs mounting their horses and riding off to their troops. They managed, with difficulty, to get out of the Fual-mün, where the death of Mow Wang was yet unknown, and escaped into Ching's lines.

From various sources it appears that Mow Wang suspected Lar Wang, and sent for him to keep him till he could get hold of the other Wangs with safety; that Kong Wang and Sing Wang had made preparations against Mow Wang, which prevented the latter from carrying out his idea for that day, and that, therefore, he tried to carry off the matter

as a ceremony. However, Kong Wang and Sing Wang settled at dinner to kill Mow Wang, and told Lar Wang of it, who did not exactly approve. The other two insisted, as they said it was not safe to delay. Hence Sing Wang, in order not to be encumbered, not arraying himself in his robes. Mow Wang's discourse was to the effect that the Kwangsi and Canton men were more faithful than the other rebels; this alone must have been very distasteful to the other Wangs, who, with the exception of Ning Wang, a Kwangsi man, were all Hoonan and Hupih men.

He went on to say that no trust could be placed in the Imperialists, etc. The other Wangs answered in succession, and the discussion got warmer, till Kong Wang got up and took off his robes. Mow Wang asked him what he was about. He drew a small two-edge dagger and stabbed Mow Wang in the neck. Mow Wang cried out, and Kong Wang stabbed him again in the back. He fell forward over the table, and was seized by Sing Wang and others and dragged off the raised daïs to the threshold, and his head cut off by either Kong Wang or a Tienchwang.

Thus perished by a cowardly assassination a brave and intelligent man who in the midst of his difficulties never despaired. He was very good to Europeans, but cruel to his countrymen. His last order was to the effect that all soldiers detected wearing long coats below the waist should be exe-

cuted; and many were executed for disobedience to this order. He gave orders for the decorating of his house up to the last morning of his existence.

Lar Wang told Major Gordon that when he had been stabbed and seized, some letters which Major Gordon had written to him fell out on the floor.[1] The Frenchmen also mentioned that Mow Wang had asked them to write a letter to Major Gordon to ask for an interview two days previous, and that Mow Wang intended to have been present at the same in disguise if accorded. He had been very anxious about this interview, and the Frenchmen had written the letter, but Major Gordon never received it.

While the Frenchmen were relating the above occurrence there was a loud hum of voices from the city, but no musketry or sound of conflict, and the walls looked deserted. No one, however, went into the city that evening. General Ching sent word that Mow Wang's head had been sent out to him, and that he should occupy a gate the next morning. Major Gordon would not do so, as he did not wish to run the risk of any of his men going into the city at all.

At daybreak on the 5th December there was a sound of musketry in the city, which, however, soon ceased. This was the fighting between the Mow Wang's Cantonese and Kwangsi men with Lar Wang's men, who had shaved their heads during

[1] The letter is given on a foregoing page. It was covered with blood stains, and a portion of the writing is scarcely legible.

the night. Lar Wang left the Tcha-mün and Shih-mün open during the night of the 4th and day of the 5th December, to let those leave who wished to do so. This was against the wishes of the other Wangs, who would have massacred them. Ning Wang also escaped.

Some of Ching's men now went up to the Low-mün and occupied the gate, and at 9 A.M. Major Gordon went to the Futai and asked him to grant the men two months' pay, as they could not enter the city, and had received no reward for the capture of any place that they had taken since his taking the command. This was very different from what they got under Ward, for they received five dollars each fight per man. He further told the Futai that he was willing to proceed with the force at once to Wusieh and Chanchufu, and to follow up the rebels.

The Futai replied that he could not grant the request, and that he would have as much as he could do to settle Souchow for the present. Major Gordon (who had long been anxious to relinquish the command, which the Futai knew well) then told him he should leave his service, and that he could settle with the men himself, giving him till 3 P.M. to settle the matter. Major Gordon went with us to the city, and went to Lar Wang's house. The whole place looked quiet and settled, and we met no men with unshaven heads.

We found Lar Wang, Sing Wang, Kong Wang,

and many other chiefs in this house. They received us well, and Major Gordon asked if everything was satisfactory. They said "Yes." Major Gordon complimented Sing Wang on his defence of Shoushing, and after some unimportant conversation we left the house and went to Mow Wang's, where we found the body of that chief, which, however, we could not induce the men who were about to bury. Major Gordon picked up under the table the letters that he had written to Mow Wang, and which had been alluded to by Lar Wang as being about Mow Wang's body. Mow Wang's body bore the marks of many stabs, and was lying partially covered with the robes he wore at the time of his assassination.

About 3 P.M. Major Gordon went out of the city to the camp, and found that Siaidong had in vain endeavoured to settle matters with the Futai, and after fruitless endeavours on his part to settle the affair, General Ching came and begged Major Gordon to induce the men to accept one month's pay. After a good deal of delay Major Gordon agreed to try what could be done—no very easy task, as the officers had but little authority, and that little some of them only felt inclined to use in a way not tending to a pacific termination.

He assembled the whole force in a square, and addressing them, told them they must be content with one month's pay. They set up a howl of disapprobation, but were eventually quieted. Major

Gordon went back to his boat, and told General Ching that he should have to send a guard down to the Futai's boat that night. About half-an-hour after the men fell in with the intention of going down to the Futai's boat; but Major Gordon soon dispersed them. He determined to send them back to Quinsan immediately, as they could not be trusted to remain near Souchow. This was also the Futai's wish. Accordingly, at daybreak on the 6th the whole force started for Quinsan, and although the men showed great disapprobation as they passed the Futai's boat, the presence of two officers there deterred them from proceeding to extremities.

It was during the afternoon of the 5th December that Ching told Major Gordon that the Futai had written to Pekin, and reported that he had extended mercy to the Wangs and rebels of Souchow.

Major Gordon sent to ask Ching if he knew of any reason for his not going into the Taiho lake with the two steamers to look after the *Firefly*. He sent back word that everything was settled satisfactorily, and that he could go with safety, and that the Wangs were coming out to see the Futai at noon. Major Gordon sent orders to the *Hyson* and *Tsatlee* steamers, which were near the Futai's boat, to go round with his chop to Wulungchow, and went into the city himself, meaning to leave it by the Pon-mün, which would enable him to join them at Wulungchow. We accompanied him to the Low-mün, and he went on to see Lar Wang before he

left, to see if he was in any trouble. We arrived at Lar Wang's house at 11.15 A.M., and found a great many ponies at the entrance. Major Gordon went in and took Lar Wang aside, and asked him if everything was going on satisfactorily, and told him that he intended to go to the Taiho lake after the *Firefly*.

Lar Wang said there was no trouble, but that he would wish to come to Major Gordon's boat after he had seen the Futai, in order to pay his respects with the other Wangs. Major Gordon replied that unless he thought there was any chance of trouble he would not delay, as the business was important; but that if he thought that there was, he would gladly stay. Lar Wang said "No;" that everything had been satisfactory, and that he was going out at noon to see the Futai. Sing Wang with Kong Wang were with Lar Wang. (The former had not shaved his head: this is unaccountable. His uncle said afterwards that he did not shave his head because if there had been any treachery he might be the only one to suffer.) Lar Wang was in very good spirits, and promised to give Major Gordon 1000 of his men for soldiers. He came out with him to see the Chinese bodyguard. Major Gordon then left and went (towards the Low-mün) to Mow Wang's palace, to see if Ching had buried Mow Wang's body.

Before he had gone many yards the Lar Wang, Sing Wang, and other chiefs came up on horseback, some thirty or forty men in all. They did not

appear armed, and seemed in good spirits, laughing and talking as they went past us. The reason why Major Gordon did not attend the ceremony was, that his presence would have made the Wangs feel their submission more acutely, and would have embarrassed the Chinese authorities. He had heard that the Futai had prepared a dinner for them, but little thought of what this turned out to be.

We went on to Mow Wang's house with Major Gordon, and met a party of General Ching's men, who came in and removed Mow Wang's body. The house or palace was a strange medley of arsenal and dwelling-house. There were shells here and there, and on a side-table we found a rifle parrot shell which had not exploded, and which was one of three we had fired into the city, thus showing that little escaped Mow Wang's notice. We found the journal of Smith, the European who commanded the others at Souchow. This man had been out to Major Gordon's camp at Patachiao, but had afterwards been persuaded, after Burgevine's departure, to remain. He was a deserter from the Royal Navy, and was probably afraid of being given up. His journal was well written, and commenced from the 18th November, when our attack on the Low-mün stockades took place. We found letters from Lindlay, telling him to come down and help him with the *Firefly*, which he had done on the 30th November, taking four or five other Europeans with him.

We had met that morning two Europeans who were with Mow Wang. They had been protected by Lar Wang, and were sent out of the city by Major Gordon; one of them was an old officer of this force. We heard afterwards that some of the other Europeans had been killed by the rebels or Imperialists on the morning of the 6th December. We found near Mow Wang's house about thirty heads of small boys, averaging from fifteen to eighteen years, and on inquiry found these were Mow Wang's immediate attendants, and had been beheaded by the Wangs after the death of Mow Wang. This may seem very great cruelty, but they were wicked to a degree that would scarcely be believed. One of them, a boy of fourteen years of age, an adopted son of Mow Wang, himself cut off the head of his small comrade, twelve years old, for stealing some trifles from him. The same youth had been guilty of a great many other atrocities, and had tortured two Chinese soldiers of the French force who had been taken at the Patachiao stockades in October. Mow Wang had some sixteen of these youths.

Major Gordon then left with Mr. Macartney and his two interpreters Ching and Chanzu, and as some time would elapse before the steamers could get round to Wulungchow, he determined to go to Low-mün and walk by the wall to the Pon-mün. On arriving at the Low-mün, and looking down towards Quinsan, a large crowd was perceptible near the

Futai's boat, some one mile and a half distant from the gate. This he thought was part of the ceremony which was going on. After waiting about for half-an-hour, it now being 1 P.M., a large number of Imperialists came up, and as soon as they entered the city they set up a yell, as they usually did when occupying a vacated stockade. Major Gordon tried to moderate their transports by expostulating with the mandarins, telling them that this sort of entry was not proper, and would tend to frighten the people inside, and might produce trouble. However, they came pouring in, and some of them went along the walls firing off their muskets in the air and shouting.

About this time General Ching came into the gate, and appeared taken aback at seeing Major Gordon, who went up to him and noticed he was very pale. He asked him if the interview was over, and if it had gone off satisfactorily. He said that Lar Wang and the others had not been to the Futai at all. Major Gordon replied that he had seen him start for the camp with the other Wangs, and that he had told him he was going to the Futai. He then asked if anything had gone wrong. Ching said that Lar Wang had demanded to keep 2000 men (when he had before stated he wanted no men) and the charge of their gates, also charge over half the city, that the Futai had refused to agree to the terms, as he could not then call the city his own. He added that the Wangs refused to obey the Futai's order to place their men in stockades out-

side Tcha-mün, and that Lar Wang had let some of Chung Wang's men come back. He said he thought that Lar Wang, being frightened at the refusal of the Futai, had run away with the other Wangs. On Major Gordon's inquiry, he said that Lar Wang could not go back to the rebels, but that he would go to some village and settle down.

Major Gordon, being at a loss to conceive any reason for Lar Wang's sudden fear, asked Mr. Macartney to go back to Lar Wang's house and to reassure him, which he started to do with Chanzu the interpreter (but whose mission was naturally of no avail, the Lar Wang being dead). General Ching asked Major Gordon if he was going to the Pon-mün, and said he would go with him if he did. Major Gordon kept inquiring, through his interpreter Ching, about Lar Wang; but General Ching persisted in saying he had not been out to the Futai, as he had just come back from the latter's boat. He said that no men but his should be admitted into the city, and that no plundering should be allowed. Now and then his men fired off their muskets, and on Major Gordon remonstrating against this they desisted. General Ching said that this was to make the Kiangsi men run away if they meditated any resistance to the Imperialists taking the city.

Major Gordon being uneasy about Lar Wang, left General Ching to go on to the Shih-mün, and

waited with his interpreter at the Pon-mün. He then questioned his interpreter, who said he thought that there was something improper, but that he had seen Lar Wang coming back from the Futai's boat. Major Gordon then determined to go to Lar Wang's palace, and started off; they passed through streets full of rebels, who were fully armed, and looked menacingly up to Lar Wang's house. Close here they met the Imperialist soldiers loaded with plunder, and when they arrived at the palace they found it gutted, and were accosted by Lar Wang's uncle, a Tienchwang Wangschi, who asked them to come to his house and to conduct there the females of Lar Wang's family.

Being only with his interpreter and unarmed, Major Gordon demurred; but the entreaties of this Tienchwang were so great that he determined to escort them down to the house and then go out for troops. When he got down to the Tienchwang's house he entered a courtyard where there were some 500 or 600 armed men. These men closed the doors, and the Tienchwang refused to let Major Gordon send his interpreter out for assistance.

It was now 7 P.M., and the city was in an uproar. Major Gordon, finding that it was useless trying to induce the Tienchwang to let him send a message for his bodyguard, settled down till 2 A.M. on the 7th December. Large numbers of rebels had assembled round the house for refuge. At 2 A.M.

he persuaded the Tienchwang to let the interpreter take a letter to his boat at Pon-mün to order the steamers to go round from Wulungchow, where they were, and to seize the Futai, in order to keep him prisoner till he had given up the Wangs, who the interpreter said had not been beheaded so soon, and also as a guarantee for his safety and for the lives of the rebels which might be sacrificed the ensuing morning, and another order to the bodyguard to come to his assistance in Wangschi's house. Two rebels started with him to show the way.

About 3 A.M. one of these returned with the news that a party of Imperialists had attacked the interpreter and left him wounded, and that they had torn up the letters. All this time Imperial soldiers in small parties came to the house and were sent away by Major Gordon. On the intelligence of the seizure of his interpreter, Major Gordon prevailed on the Tienchwang to let him go out and seek for him; which he did. He went down with two rebels and could find no trace of the interpreter, and being now near the Pon-mün, he determined to go down to his boat and send off fresh orders. At the Pon-mün the Imperialists detained him an hour, being in suspicious company with two rebels. He got out at last to his boat, and it then being too late to trust to the boatmen to take a message, he started himself for the Low-mün, sending an order to the steamers to go round to the Futai's boat. He got down to the Low-mün at 5.30 A.M., just as the gate was

opened, and sent his bodyguard with Major Brooks, the provost-marshal, to Wangschi's house. His interpreter Ching had escaped with the loss of his outer garments from the Imperialists.

Crowds of people were pouring out of the gate, and Major Gordon prevented the Imperialists from entering the city. Captain Bonnefoy with some of his men came up and entered the city with Major Gordon in order to prevent any massacre, which, however, did not take place, the Imperialists contenting themselves with plunder. Major Gordon, being ignorant of the death of the Wangs, and thinking that they were prisoners in the Futai's camp, waited for the steamers in order to seize the Futai and make him give them up. While waiting at the Low-mün, General Ching came up and attempted to address him, but met with such a storm that he made a precipitate retreat into the city, after vainly attempting to tell Major Gordon that he had only obeyed the Futai's order. Being abused before the rebels and his own bodyguard did not make him feel very comfortable. Major Gordon then went down towards the Futai's boat, and as the steamers were not yet in sight, he waited some distance from the same. General Ching now sent down Major Bailey (an officer Major Gordon had sent with him for instruction in artillery) to explain matters. He said that Ching had gone inside the Low-mün, had shot himself some twenty of his men who were plundering, and then sat down and cried, and had

asked Bailey to come down and tell Major Gordon how he had been forced into the matter by the Futai, etc.

Major Gordon asked Bailey if the Wangs had been executed, or if they were still prisoners. He said he did not know, but that he had got Lar Wang's son in his tent. He brought him to Major Gordon's boat, and he told Major Gordon that his father had been executed on the other side of the creek. Major Gordon asked Prince F. de Wittgenstein if he would go over and see if there was any sign; which he did, and came back and said that there were nine bodies there. Major Gordon went over, and recognised Lar Wang's head and Sing and Kong Wang's heads, and one of the Tienchwangs who had come out to General Ching. There were nine bodies in all; and at the son's request Major Gordon took Lar Wang's head. He could not then find the body, which had been hastily buried. Major Gordon then sent Prince Wittgenstein and Major Brown off to the two adjoining stockades to ascertain if there were any high personages detained as prisoners, but they found that there were none.

Just before leaving, Major Gordon received a letter from Fusaiquan, informing him that Colonel Tumblety, the officer in command, had been negotiating with a rebel chief at Kwanpu, who had come over with his men. Major Gordon sent this officer orders to release the chief and his men, if they

wished, and to let them go back, bringing them to Quinsan if they preferred staying with us.

The reasons of the Futai's acting in this matter were—

1. That he was afraid of the number of men who had come over.

2. He was in arrears of pay to his troops, and therefore was liable to a mutiny if he kept them from plundering, which he was bound to do if he kept the contract. He was offended by the bearing of the rebel chiefs.

Ching's reason was a fear lest Lar Wang, with his popularity and his men, might supplant him with the Futai, for there is little doubt that Lar Wang's advent, in conjunction with this force, to any city would compel its fall; and he was also actuated by a desire to let his men plunder.

It appears that when the Wangs came out they were met by Ching, and that the latter did not accompany them to the Futai, who was in a stockade near his boat; that some conversation passed—of what purport is useless to try and ascertain—that the Futai left, and that the gates were then closed, and the Wangs and Tienchwangs seized and beheaded.

On the 12th December Wusieh was vacated by the rebels, who retired to Chanchufu. The Futai's brother's troops came up close to the south and east gates of Chanchufu, and there established themselves.

On the 29th December General Li-ai-duy came to Major Gordon and informed him that the Futai had received an Imperial decree, and requested Major Gordon to receive Mandarin Pow with sundry presents. Major Gordon told General Li not to bring the presents, as he had no intention of receiving them. Li said that Pow must come, and that he would arrange for them not to bring the presents. He asked for a salute and a guard for Pow when he arrived. Major Gordon agreed to it, and on the 1st January 1864 Pow arrived. Major Gordon went down to meet him at the west gate, and met the procession carrying in the sum of 10,000 taels in open boxes, in which the Sycee shoes were laid on red cloth; also four snake flags, of which the Futai had sent two, and Wang-tetai, a mandarin who had been known to Major Gordon since Fushan, and who commanded the gunboats in the province of Kiangsoo, of which he was admiral, also sent two. Major Gordon made the procession turn about and take the whole lot out again, and returned to his house. Pow arrived soon after, and brought the Emperor's letter, on yellow silk, to a table at the end of the hall, on which were two lighted candles. (General Li had undertaken to have everything in proper order, and this was part of his arrangements.) Pow gave Major Gordon the annexed decree, and Major Gordon wrote his answer on the back of the translation which accompanied it. He then, with the other mandarins, had lunch, and went off to write to the

Futai the result of the visit. Major Gordon accepted Wang-tetai's flags, as this mandarin was not engaged in the Souchow affair at all.

The total number of rebels killed at Souchow did not exceed fifty, exclusive of those executed by the governor.

Li Futai and Ching got Yellow Jackets for the capture of Souchow. *Vide* Gazette concerning capture.

In spite of the behaviour of the Futai at Souchow, the following cities sent in their submission and were admitted to terms, viz. Pinghu, 16th December 1863, Chapu, 20th December 1863, Haiyuen, 21st December 1863, and Kashur, on the 7th January 1864. These cities were in the Che-kiang province, and Li Futai gave Tso Chetai great offence by accepting their submission, as they were not in his province. The ill feeling between these two men, who were both protegés of Tseng kwoh fan, led afterwards to great difficulties. Tso was a greater friend of that person than Li Hung Chung, who was much envied and disliked by the Nankin mandarins for his past victories.

VI

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE 1864

THE beginning of 1864 saw the Imperialists closely besieging Nankin on all sides but that where the road to Tayau leaves the city. They had a large flotilla in the Yangtze, and had in their possession all the forts on the north side. Their entrenchments, double, and even treble in some parts, ran from the Yangtze above Nankin to the Yu-hua-ta hill (Porcelain Tower), which commanded the city, and on the north they extended down from the Isao-hia creek almost to the hills above the Ming tombs, where the rebels still held a strong position.

By this road Chung Wang arrived in January 1864.

In Che-kiang, Hangchow and Yuhang were partially blockaded by Tso Chetai's forces. The Imperialists were very strong, and their works impregnable.

Tsah (the Wai Wang) of Taitsan held the town of Haining, to the north-east of Hangchow. Ting Wang held Hangchow, and another of the Wangs held Yuhang.

Wusieh was held by the Imperialists under the Futai's brother, and he had some camps close to the south gate of Chanchufu, which was held by Hoo Wang, with some Europeans under Smith and the *Firefly* steamer.

The rebels held the following cities besides Nankin :—

In Kiangsoo: Yesing, Liyang, Chanchufu, Tayau, Chuyong, Kintang.

In Che-kiang: Hangchow, Yuhang, Tesing, Wuchufu, Haining, Chapu, Haiyuen, Semen, Kashingfu, Kashur, Pinghu, Pingwang, Kwanteche, Changching.

The disciplined Chinese had returned to Quinsan after the fall of Souchow.

On his arrival at Nankin Ching Wang went to Tien Wang, with the object of persuading him to vacate the city, as famine had now begun its ravages. The Tien Wang said he would issue a decree to meet the difficulty in which the people were, which was, "that they should eat sweet dew." Chung Wang asked: "How could they subsist on sweet dew?" to which the Tien Wang replied: "Let them take of the things the earth brings forth."

Chung Wang remarked that such was not a fit article of food. Tien Wang then gathered some herbs in his garden, made them into a ball, and sent them out to the people, with orders to prepare their food in that manner.

In fact the Tien Wang had made up his mind

for the crisis, and had given up all thought of the future since he had acquired his title. He reposed solely in Heaven, and would put no confidence in men or means.

The Tien Wang ate the sweet dew for some days, but eventually gave it up as not sufficiently nourishing.

About the beginning of February 1864 the Imperialists, who had advanced their stockades and breastworks up to within eighty or one hundred yards of the south-west angle of the city, and driven a gallery to the wall, exploded a large charge of powder, which, however, was not lodged sufficiently under the wall, and which therefore only blew away the face of it. They then assaulted, but were repulsed with heavy loss by Chung Wang.

Souchow, where the Futai had taken up his residence, was still very sparsely populated. Ching's men were in the city.

The whole of the guns and munitions captured at Souchow were given over to Ching, who had now a very good artillery, under one of Major Gordon's old officers, Colonel Bailey.

As the safety of Souchow was considered not sufficiently secured by the possession of Wokong, Ching was detailed to capture Pingwang, a fortified post held by the rebels on the Grand Canal, some eighteen miles south of Wokong; while the recent acquisition of Pinghu, Chapu, Kashur, and Hai-yuen, which had surrendered, made it necessary to

take the place which interfered with free communication with Souchow.

Ching started with 8000 men on the 12th January, and had two steamers with him. He attacked, and opened a heavy fire on the works, which was answered smartly by the rebels, who, however, after holding the place for some hours, thought it best to retire to Kashingfu, some fifteen miles south of this place, on the Grand Canal. Ching then returned to Souchow.

Santagen, the Futai's brother, with some 15,000 Imperialists under Kwosingling Yang, and having with them Rhode and some other foreigners, among whom was Penell, a Frenchman, who, dressed in Chinese costume, had advanced to Chanchufu and entrenched themselves around it from south to east and north. They kept up a desultory fire on the walls, breaching them in many places, but declining to assault. The Hoo Wang and Tso Wang commanded in the city, with Smith the deserter, whose journal was found in Souchow, and some other foreigners, and the *Firefly* steamer.

On the 10th January the rebel position at Pingmiao, some ten miles up the Grand Canal from Chanchufu, made overtures to the Imperialists, which were accepted, and the rebels shaved their heads. They were attacked by Hoo Wang, but held out till Kwosingling could bring up some men to their assistance, but the rebels were so formidable that they drove these off and surrounded the position.

The Imperialists now got together a large force, and making a vigorous attack, on the 18th January 1864, carried the rebel works, and the *Firefly*, not having her steam up, was abandoned. The Imperialists rescued their beleaguered companions, and finding they could not take the steamer away, they blew her up, with her shell, etc. etc., leaving the thirty-two-pounder gun, but taking the twelve-pounder howitzer, and fell back on their stockades. This was a most fortunate affair, for the steamer was worthy of good men. Smith received a wound soon after this in taking a stockade from the Imperialists, from the effects of which he died. He was a good general and a brave man.

After Smith's death the other foreigners left the city from time to time, and were allowed to pass through the Imperialist lines to Souchow and Shanghai. Matters had become too serious for them.

The servant of Lieutenant Easton of the artillery, who had been captured in the *Firefly* in November 1863, escaped from the rebels and came to Quinsan on the 19th January.

While these events were transpiring the Quinsan force were in garrison at that place.

As may have been expected, there were a great number of wounded officers and men, the victims of the late actions, and it was necessary to pay the various compensations to the wounded, and this required a large sum. The Futai had had to pay £20,000 for the extra month's pay to the force, and

these compensations for the loss of arms, eyes, legs, etc., amounted to £20,000 more, which the Futai had to pay. There were besides certain claims to be adjusted, which were also met.

During January there were constantly quarrels between the officers, who, jealous of one another, were disputing who should command if Major Gordon was recalled. The rebels were by no means vanquished, and there were rumours rife that Europeans and foreigners were again joining them. Some of these men were taken up for looting the people on the 18th January, and on the Souchow creek a storekeeper, Horgan, and an old officer of the force, Baker, had a few days before been murdered; it was evident that rowdyism was rising again, and that the rebel sympathisers were again at work.

Major Gordon therefore determined on action, and for the following reasons :—

1st. That the nature of the force would not allow it to remain idle.

2d. That no hope of an adjustment was likely to come from Pekin.

3d. That the removal of the Futai by the Pekin Government for an act not looked on as a crime by the Imperialist Government or by the Chinese, at the dictation of a foreign Government, would strike a severe blow at the independence of the Chinese Empire, and cause Tseng kwoh fan and others to disregard its edicts still more.

4th. That the people of the country were the only sufferers by its dissolution, the Imperialist leaders being only too glad of it.

5th. That the force could not be maintained in quiet for the defence of Shanghai.

6th. That there was great movement among the rowdy population and rebel sympathisers, who thought their prospects looked up.

7th. That the agreement broken through by the Futai was between Major Gordon and himself, and to which the force was not privy.

8th. That already overtures had been made to some officers of the force with a view of superseding Major Gordon, in which case our Government would have no control over it.

9th. That the Futai had been very fairly punished, having had to pay up without a word £50,000, and been rebuked from Pekin.

10th. That it was a very great hardship on the country to make them pay £28,000 a month for a force that could do nothing.

11th. That Major Gordon saw two months would complete the work, which, if he left, would last perhaps twelve months.

Such were the reasons which actuated Major Gordon, and after long consideration determined him to visit the Futai at Souchow.

He accordingly did so with Mr. Hart, the Inspector-General of Customs, on the 1st February, taking with him Pei Wang's son.

In the interview nothing respecting the recent breach of faith was mentioned, it being agreed on that such was to be the case ; the conversation was on the rebellion, and the steps to be taken which should lead to its speedy extinction, and to the disbandment of the force.

The district occupied by the rebels at this time was hour-glass shaped, the lower portion consisting of the towns of Wuchufu, Tesing, Yuhang, Kangchuope, Semen, Kashingfu, Changching; and the upper portion, Nankin, Tayau, Kintang, Chuyong.

The two towns of Yesing and Liyang may be considered the connecting junction. These towns were some fifty miles distant from one another, and the rebel district was about ninety miles wide at this part.

On the other side was a large force of Imperialists under Pao-chiao, who were acting as covering army to Tseng kwoh tsuen in his attack on Nankin.

Major Gordon proposed to make a dash at these two towns, Yesing and Liyang, and thus cutting the rebellion in two, to turn northwards, and capturing Kintang and Tayau, to come down on Chanchufu. The Futai agreed to the project, and gave orders to Kwosingling and 50,000 men to accompany him, General Ching and his force being detailed to attack Kashingfu.

It is necessary to remark that Tsah (Wai Wang) of Taitsan, who was in charge of Haining, made overtures to Tso Chetai, and was allowed to come over

with his troops to the Imperialists on the 25th January. This made Li Futai very angry, for this man Tsah had deluded his brother into the city of Taitsan, and then treacherously fell on his troops, as has been narrated.

His defection had a great effect on Tso Chetai's attack on Hangkow—to which place, in the middle of February, he summoned the Franco-Chinese under D'Aiquebelle, who were in Shoushing.

The Wangs in Kashingfu sent delegates to Li Futai to ask to be admitted to terms, but he had been snubbed about accepting the submission of Pinghu, Chapu, and Kashur, so he would not entertain them, but sent them on to Tso Chetai at the same time as he sent Ching against Kashingfu.

It was arranged between the Futai and Major Gordon that Li should issue a proclamation clearing the latter from any participation in the execution of the Wangs, which he accordingly did on the 4th February. The son of Nai Wang, a youth of eighteen, was introduced to the Futai, and given the rank of a major by him.

Major Gordon returned to Quinsan, and determined to take the field with his whole force. Every preparation was made by the 17th February, and the force marched on the 18th, leaving Colonel Murant and 200 men in Quinsan as a garrison. The weather was bitterly cold, and snow was falling, but there was no time to lose if the

operations were to be completed before the summer heats began.

Major Gordon went in the *Hyson* by the Taiho lake to Wusieh, where the force who had marched by Souchow met him outside the north gate on the 24th February. The Imperialists under Kwosingling not being ready, they halted there till the 27th February.

General Ching started at the same time for Pingwang *en route* for Kashingfu.

While at the village off the north gate of Wusieh, by accident the remains of Dolly, Easton, Martin, and Perry were discovered. They had been hastily buried by the Imperialist troops on their capture of the place by order of the Futai. On further inquiry an old woman showed the place where they had been buried, and where we found fragments of their clothing, and this was at the very time that the rebel sympathisers were declaring that they were safe at Chanchufu.

White, one of the men who was engaged in the capture of the *Firefly*, came down to Shanghai about this time, and was arrested, tried, and condemned to two years' imprisonment. Lindlay, however, escaped.

On the 27th the infantry marched thirty miles by a by-path to Hochiao, where they were joined by the artillery, which had proceeded by water.

Kwosingling was encamped there with his Imperialists.

This village, or rather town, was some eight miles from the north gate of Yesing. The country round Yesing and Wusieh was perfectly destitute of people—the few that were seen were in the last stage of famine, which speaks for the rebel chiefs' mode of rule, for since 1860 no Imperialists had been here, nor had any fighting been carried on in the neighbourhood.

The *Hyson* steamer under Captain Davidson was sent to cross the Taiho lake and to rejoin the force under the walls of Yesing.

On the 28th February Major Gordon advanced with a small party and reconnoitred Yesing.

It was a small walled city two miles in circumference, having its east and west sides covered by lakes. The wall was in good repair, and the ditch evidently broad.

The rebels opened a very accurate fire from the north gate from a twelve-pounder gun, but did no harm.

It was determined to conduct part of the force across the lake at the east side (from which direction the *Hyson* was expected), and to take possession of the village at the south-east angle, and thence to seize the stockades on the south side, and to cut off the communication with the next city—Liyang.

The rebels were unaware of the approach of the force, and Shon Wang (Tang) had no idea of his danger.

A large number of boats were sure to be passing from the east gate towards the Taiho.

Accordingly, at daybreak on the 29th the force marched to about half-a-mile from the north gate, where a large creek leads from the canal from Hochiao to the lake on the east side of the city.

Major Gordon passed some eight or ten boats into this canal, and with the 3d and 4th Regiments marched down to the north bank of the lake. The rebels appeared in strength in the village on the opposite shore.

At about 4 P.M. Major Gordon placed some 200 men in the boats, and covered by the fire of a field-piece crossed the lake, and drove the rebels out of the village into their stockades, which were separated from the village by a bridged creek, which the rebels broke loose after the mass of their force got away. They suffered some loss, while on our side there were two or three wounded.

The village was full of the most miserable objects ever seen, of all ages and sizes, and were in a most pitiable condition, in the direst want. These people were consuming human flesh, and the babies of those who had died were lying about unburied, with pieces cut out of them by the survivors. Words cannot express the state of these poor villagers. Everything was done that could be to relieve their distress.

The 3d and 4th Regiments remained in the

village that night, while the remainder of the force camped at the north gate.

A letter was received from the *Hyson* with the news that she was engaged breaking down a bridge which she could not get through.

On the 1st March Major Gordon, with Colonel Howard, started to reconnoitre the country around, with a view of turning the rebel stockades which were close to the village, and which, if approached from the village, would not have been easy to capture. They had to make a detour, and having left their boats to ascend a small hill, were nearly cut off by some rebel horsemen, upon which they returned to camp. And by this time the light artillery and the remainder of the infantry having joined them, the plan of attack was decided on.

The 1st, 3d, and 4th Regiments were to move round by the hill before mentioned, and at the ping of a rocket to come down to a point midway between the stockade (close to the village off south-east angle) and the fortified bridge over the creek opposite to and 200 yards distant from the south gate, while Major Gordon was to have the boats ready to ferry them over in rear of the stockade. The detour was necessary, as the country was so intersected with creeks; and as the infantry had to march much farther than the boats had to go, it was necessary for them to start first, as if the rebels saw the boats being placed they would have taken steps to prevent the landing.

The infantry started at 9 A.M., 1st March, and when they were known to be about the place where they should be when the rocket was fired, the signal was given and the boats began to move up. But no infantry appeared. More rockets were fired, but with no result, while heavy firing was heard away in the hills some distance off.

Major Gordon had arranged with the mandarins to attack the stockades at 11 A.M., and at last determined to try and take them with the 2d Regiment under Colonel Williams. Accordingly the boats were placed, and under fire of the light artillery the men rowed across behind the rebel stockades. Although only fifty crossed, the rebels wavered, and at last broke and ran. They were taken completely by surprise, thinking all the force had left. Upwards of five stockades and a large number of prisoners were taken.[1]

At the moment of this capture the firing approached nearer, and just as the rebels, who were in great strength on the fortified bridge, were turning to attack the 2d Regiment (and, in fact, had already detached a party, who, however, were met by Dr. Moffitt and some twenty men and driven back), the head of the infantry column was seen in the distance, driving before a large body of rebels on to

[1] Tai Wang's son behaved very well. Colonel Rhode took the chief prisoner, who shot him in the arm, but not seriously.

Major Gordon here met Pei Wang, who was one of the Wangs of Souchow who escaped massacre. This man was about twenty-six years old. He was a very fine young man, and was with a mandarin as servant.

the defenders of the bridge. It appears that, mistaking the orders, they had got too far into the hills, and had come across a large body of rebels coming as a reinforcement from Liyang, that they had engaged these men and driven them back, and then had pursued them towards the city.

For a mile distant from this bridge the road is a mere strip or band with a deep creek on each side of it, so that once on it there was no chance of escaping to the right or left.

Along this road came the fugitives, pursued by the infantry. The Yesing rebels holding the bridge would not open the gates to them, but also opened fire. The scene was indescribable. Taken in rear by the infantry, and checked in front by their own people they had come to assist, and who now fired on them, they became desperate, and at last, with sheer force, carried away the gateway and forced the bridge. There was no time for rallying, for the infantry pressed on, and joined by a flanking party under Dr. Moffitt, pushed the fugitives up to the very walls. The rebel loss was very great, while ours was—killed, Lieutenant Herzog and four men, with eleven wounded. Thus fell in a morning all the stockades of the rebels south and east of the city.

The possession of the bridge gave us the command of the lake on the west side, as by the creek it spanned the steamer could be passed into it. The *Hyson* arrived that night, and the whole force was

collected at the south of the city, with the exception of the 5th Regiment, which remained after the capture of the south gate stockade. Major Gordon went round, and with the 5th Regiment reconnoitred from the north gate to the bank of the lake on the west side.

After a long discussion with the mandarins, it was decided to leave the rebels the route if they wished to escape by it, and therefore no stockade was erected on it.

At 2 A.M. a rebel chief came out of the city to say that the Shon Wang had left with 300 men, having before he did so pillaged every one else, and that the city was given up. Major Gordon would not allow the men to enter it, as his farther march would have been delayed if he had done so. He arranged with the Imperialists, and saw the same carried out, that no rebels were to be killed, and then went on and encamped with the force at a village on the lake *en route* to Liyang. Some 5000 prisoners were taken, among whom a half-witted Malay, but after their heads had been shaved they were released.

If he had allowed the men to loot the mass of them would have deserted, for they did not much like this hazardous march through the rebel country, and thought they were bound for Nankin. They expressed their dissatisfaction in such a pronounced way that one had to be shot before the disturbance could be quelled.

On the 2d March the men were paid, and Major Gordon went to the city, which was being pillaged by the starving villagers, who had at last enough rice to eat.

At the gate of the city he met a delegate from Tapuku, a large village nine miles from Yesing, on the shore of Taiho lake, who brought him letters to say that of a force of 3000 rebels 2000 had shaved their heads, and that the other 1000, under a chief Ching-wong-sei, would not do so, and holding the road to Yesing would not let them escape. The rebels who had shaved begged for assistance, as they feared that the Wuchupu rebels, who had been sent for by Ching, would come up and attack them.

Major Gordon started that night with 500 men and some light artillery in boats to relieve them, and reached the neighbourhood at 10 P.M., where the rebel chiefs came down to the boats to give information of the position of the rebels who would not surrender.

Major Gordon ordered two guns to be fired, to let them know of the arrival of his force.

It was rather a critical operation to attack the position, for the rebels who submitted were on one side of the creek in five stockades, while those who held out were in two stockades on the other, and there were, and will always be, doubts as to the good faith of the party who had given in.[1]

[1] The country about here was strewn with corpses of the people who had died of famine.

The troops advanced at daybreak, 3d March, and fortunately the rebels who still wished to hold out retreated after the first shell set fire to their stockades. It would have been difficult to have directed the attack only on their stockades and to have avoided the others, so close were they together.

These rebels now returned with the troops to Yesing, having to cross the creeks where the bridges were broken by boats, a long operation, which delayed their arrival till dusk that evening.

Everything was ready on the morning of the 4th March for the march on Liyang, Yesing being garrisoned by the Imperialists.

Colonels Kirkham and Rhode were sent in advance with some twenty mounted men to reconnoitre the road. The steamer *Hyson* and the flotilla were sent on by the lake, with instructions to proceed some twelve miles, and then to feel their left, so as to ascertain the position of the infantry, who marched by a road which did not quite follow the water communication. Major Gordon had arranged that the infantry should halt after a march of twelve or fifteen miles, and had given instructions as to where the boats should join them.

The troops marched at 8 A.M., 4th March, and reached the point where the boats should have met them at 3 P.M. The mounted party proceeded on some two miles, when they saw some horsemen coming towards them, which they took for Im-

perialists. They were in a village, and did not think that the rebels were near. All of a sudden one party of the horsemen came down on the village and the other came round it so as to intercept their retreat. It was She Wang and his cavalry. The party scrambled back as they could, losing two or three ponies and one sergeant, a Chinaman, who was taken prisoner (this was the first prisoner Major Gordon had had taken in this affair), and had it not been for the proximity of the infantry the whole party might have been captured: it appeared afterwards that the rebels held a fortified post some two miles farther on.

The infantry halted for the night, which was very cold, with no rations, owing to the non-arrival of the boats.

There was no sign of them up to 11 A.M. the next day, 5th March, and the country was quite deserted of any one who could give information.

At 11 A.M. a rebel boat with one man was captured, and Major Gordon started with her in the direction of where he thought the steamer and boats ought to be. He had to go some eight miles, when he sent his own boat at a stockade, and, getting into her, directed the other boats where to go. He found, however, that the steamer, with the artillery and commissariat boats, had gone on towards Liyang. He went on after them some four miles, and found them at a broken bridge not more than four miles from the city of Liyang, just commencing an engage-

ment with the rebel stockades at that place, and where the rebels evidently were in great strength, and were coming out to fight. He ordered the whole force to retire to where he met his boat, which was at a large stone fort which the *Hyson* had driven the rebels out of on their advance from Yesing the previous day, and taking the commissariat boats and those belonging to the officers of the force, started to convoy them back to the infantry. It was now 7 P.M., and almost dark, while the creek bank was very intricate.

After a great deal of trouble, by 2 P.M. the next day, the 6th March, all the boats had joined the infantry, the intricacy of the creeks giving a deal of anxiety, the artillery and the *Hyson* being at the captured stockade some eight miles distant.

The men had suffered a good deal for want of food, and the officers had killed their loot ponies for them.

It should be mentioned that Kwosingling and his men were badly off, and appeared ignorant of the country. Major Gordon brought their boats back as well as his own. The rebels had vacated their outpost, and the body of the poor sergeant, much mutilated, was found and buried.

The infantry halted where they were on the 7th March, while Major Gordon surveyed the country between the stockade at Hochiao, where the artillery was stationed as well as the infantry, with a view to

bringing the latter across country to the former the next day.

There were eight bridges of boats or ferries to be arranged over creeks.

Arrangements being made, the infantry started at 7 A.M., and were conveyed safely to Hochiao, Kwosingling's troops being taken over as well.

The immense number of creeks which abound here, the absence of roads (though the rebels have broken all the bridges on them for miles around), and the complete desolation which reigned in these parts, had a depressing effect on the men, who knew that there were rebels on every side of them, and that they had no road of retreat. There was with the force plenty of provisions and ammunition, while the presence of the *Hyson* gave the men great assurance.

The whole of the troops arrived and joined the artillery at Hochiao at 6 P.M. on the 8th March.

The Futai had suggested to Major Gordon after the fall of Yesing that he should go against Chanchufu, as he dreaded the flank march to Liyang, which, however, was well worth the risk, as it aided the Imperialists in their attack on Nankin and Hangchow, as well as the Futai's forces at Chanchufu, and if achieved would deal a far heavier blow to the rebellion than the mere capture of a city.

That it was a risk there is no doubt, for the force was liable to attack on all sides from the rebels, but Major Gordon had weighed the chances, knowing of

the discussion between the rebel leaders, and trusting to the quickness of his movements for success; and although the country was much intersected with creeks and lakes, he knew that this water force was so strong as to defy any flotilla that the rebels could send against him, while the roads being few and the bridges broken on them, he had no fear of attack from a land force. He had the *Hyson*, with her thirty-two-pounder and twelve-pounder howitzer, planked with three-inch elm and loop-holed, with her steam-chest well covered with planking to protect against any such accident as happened to the *Tsatlee*, by which she was rendered like a movable fort, three large boats with twenty-four-pounder howitzers on slides mounted on the bows, another boat with a thirty-two-pounder gun twenty-five cwt., and four other lighter boats, with four two-fifth howitzers on the bow, all of which were planked in so as to prevent being fired into by musketry; and some twenty gunboats, carrying twelve-pounder or nine-pounder more guns, a most formidable array, and one which rendered him quite safe on the water. He had fourteen days' rations with him for the troops, and plenty of ammunition.

At 7 P.M. two small boats belonging to some of the officers came down the canal from Liyang; they had missed their way on the 6th March, and by mistake gone on straight to Liyang. They brought letters from the city to the effect that they wanted to surrender.

It appears that She Wang (Attendant King), who had returned to Liyang after the fall of Souchow and Wusieh, had heard of the arrival of the force at Yesing from Shon Wang, who had passed the city on his way to Kintang, and had received Ching-wong-sei into the city with his men after he had been driven from Tapuku. He had great doubts of the fidelity of Woo, his second in command, and therefore, when he heard of the advance of the steamer, felt that he could not leave the city with safety in his (Woo's) hands. The arrival of Ching-wong-sei, however, was opportune, for he thought that, surely as the man had refused to surrender at Tapuku, he was safe to hold out in Liyang. He sent for him and told him his fear about Woo.

Ching-wong-sei offered to lead the rebels out against the steamer, which so assured She Wang that he gave him charge of the city, and started on the morning of the 6th March to the outer stockades near the broken bridge, where he saw the steamer and boats retire, as he thought, on his advance, but which retreat was made, as already has been narrated, by order of Major Gordon.

He returned to Liyang that evening, and on coming to the gate was refused admittance and fired on from the walls. Ching-wong-sei and Woo had determined to give up the city, and the only reason the former had in not surrendering at Tapuku was that had he done so the She Wang would have

seized his family and property, which were at Liyang, and executed the former.

She Wang then begged his mother and family might be allowed to come out to him, which they would not consent to, so he went off and encamped in the hills near the city with 500 men of his force. At this time the two boats which had missed their way arrived, and the officers' servants were taken to Woo, who sent them back with the boats untouched, with letters to Major Gordon.

Major Gordon started that evening at 9 P.M., and proceeded up to the broken bridge with the *Hyson* and 200 men of the 4th Regiment, leaving orders for the whole force to follow the next day. Kwosingling and Li-ai-duy accompanied him.

The rebels' stockades at this bridge were deserted. They were very strong, and were eight or ten in number.

At dawn on the 9th March Major Gordon started for the city with 200 infantry and General Li-ai-duy and Kwosingling.

He passed through another range of vacated stockades, and then through a village outside the east gate, where the people met him in a procession.

A little farther on, and nearer the city defending a bridge over the canal, was a strong earthwork with abatis, etc. This was evidently manned, but no people appeared. The two mandarins were in great fear, as they thought that there was treachery

meant. Major Gordon went up with ten men and called out to the garrison of the stockade (who came to the walls—they had not shaved their heads), and entered into conversation with them, moving at the same time to the rear of the stockade, and eventually entering it, so that with the men he had he would have been able to maintain himself in it till the 200 men who had been sent for were close up; thus, even if treachery had been meditated, a very important stockade was gained.

Major Gordon then sent a rebel into the city to ask the chiefs to come out, which they did after a little delay, and terms were then arranged on, viz. that the rebels were not to be looted or killed, and that they might go where they liked.

Major Gordon then went up to the gate of the city and waited there till the rebel chiefs had withdrawn their men from the gates of the city in order that the disciplined Chinese might take those posts. While there a petty mandarin arrived with twenty men, who had ridden in from Tungpa, where Pao-chiao's forces were, some thirty miles distant from Liyang, with a letter to ascertain if it was true the city had surrendered. Major Gordon sent a letter to Pao-chiao reporting the surrender and the arrival of his force at Liyang, and thus the split of the rebel territory into two.

The troops arrived soon after, having had to make twenty-three bridges over creeks, and were stationed at each gate. Just as they were entering

a large body of troops were seen coming towards the city, who were at first taken for She Wang's men, but turned out to be part of the rebels of Liyang, who had gone out against him and driven him away.

The city was some three miles in circumference, with a formidable ditch and a system of stockades around it which surpassed any in strength yet seen, both in number and design, having three to four ditches and quantities of abatis; the ditch, however, was crammed full of boats all around the city of all sizes and kinds. The number of rebels who surrendered in the city and stockades were 15,000; they were well armed and clothed, and the city was full of rice and provisions, which for the most part was given to the starving people in the neighbourhood, and who had not even rice for seed before the place was surrendered.

Twenty-four gunboats were taken and joined the service, increasing the flotilla considerably.

The small dingy of the *Firefly* was also found here, and a Manilla man who had been taken prisoner at Wuchufu in 1860. At the time of the rebels capturing that place it appears that a small steamer was sent up to assist in its defence, which was captured by the rebels owing to the breakage of its fan. The captain had been allowed to go to Shanghai on the promise that he would return with a new fan, which he never did. The Manilla man with others of the crew were kept hostages, and

were not allowed to go. They eventually escaped, with the exception of the Manilla and another Englishman, who died a few months before the arrival of the force at Liyang.

Just as Major Gordon was going into the city he was called back by some rebels to a large boat where the She Wang's mother, a woman of seventy, his wife, a woman of twenty-five, his aunt, and son, a small boy of seven years old, were kept prisoners, and whom the rebels wanted to kill, as the She Wang had been very cruel to them in many ways, and in which he had been aided and abetted by his mother.

She Wang had been a butcher before the rebellion.

Kwosingling wanted to take the family and send them to the Futai, but Major Gordon would not allow it, and gave them over to General Li to send down to Quinsan in safety. The old lady was very obstreperous and violent.

She Wang was kind to his soldiery, but very severe to the people. He had burnt a man to death a short time before for meditating treachery. He was on bad terms with Tien Wang, and wanted him to leave Nankin. His palace in Liyang was very fine. It was an immense building with yellow tiles, and was well fitted up, or rather had been, for it had been pillaged by Woo and Chang-wong-sei before the city had been given up. Chung Wang's sword of office was captured in the palace which

he had given She Wang at Wusieh before he went back to Nankin.

The rebels were disarmed on the 10th March, about 1000 taken into the ranks, and another 1000 or 1500 taken under their own leaders into the pay, and who were attached to the force. This was an experiment, as Major Gordon thought that if they were directed where to go they would fight as well under their own officers as under European officers. They were armed with muskets, and taught the elements of drill.

A letter was sent to Kintang to offer the same terms as Liyang had, but no answer was received.

Kwosingling's troops, who were not allowed into Liyang, went on to Kintang on the 12th March, while the force was engaged in clearing the boats out of the ditch and putting the city into a state of defence.

On the 15th March Major Gordon reconnoitred the route leading to Kintang, returning the same day.

On the 16th March the 1st, 2d, and 5th Regiments, with part of the heavy and light artillery, started for Kintang (leaving General Li and the remainder of the force at Liyang to garrison it). The troops halted ten miles from Liyang owing to the bad weather.

During that night Kwosingling passed on his way back from Kintang, where he had been repulsed in a skirmish with the garrison. Major Gordon at

the same time received the intelligence that the *Tsatlee* steamer, which had been returned to its owner in January 1864, had been seized by rowdies at Shanghai, and taken up to the rebels at Kashingfu, and that the Futai was anxious for him to come back and attack Chanchufu, where the rebels had been defeating the Imperialists and were threatening an advance.

On the 17th March the troops advanced eight miles farther, where they halted, as the weather was still very wet, while Major Gordon reconnoitred close up to the walls of the city of Kintang.

He found it a small compact city, with no stockades outside of it. There was no show of flags or men to be seen on the walls.

The whole country around was a perfect desert from Liyang to Kintang; a few, very few, starving people were occasionally to be met with.

The 18th March was so wet that the troops halted, and on the 19th March they moved to within four miles from Kintang.

On the 20th March the troops took up a position about 1200 yards from the city wall; with the exception of a body of horsemen, who rode out from the city, no force was visible; the walls were not manned, no flags were flying in the usual Chinese style of defiance; but still there was something ominous in the deathlike stillness which raised a doubt whether it was not evacuated.

Major Gordon reconnoitred close up to the walls,

and fixed on the north-east angle for the point of attack, as he could bring an enfilade fire on the walls which fronted the advance.

The troops moved up to their several stations by 8 A.M., the heavy boats with artillery having passed into their position by a canal that led close under the wall, which was done before dawn without the enemy's perceiving it.

At 9 A.M. 21st March everything was ready for opening fire, when a despatch was received from Santagen, the Futai's brother, and from the Futai, saying that a large force of 7000 rebels had left Chanchufu, turned the flank of the Imperialists, were threatening Wusieh and Kougyin, and had captured Fushan, and were besieging Chanzu, only thirty miles from Quinsan. This was startling news, but Major Gordon thought that if he retired without attempting the place the rebels would be much encouraged; while if he took it he could, by falling on Chanchufu, oblige the Hoo Wang to order his expeditionary force back from its raid.

Fire was accordingly opened, and after three hours a very fair breach was made, the fire from the rebels being very slight. The men for the assault were embarked in boats and the advance ordered; the moment the rebels heard this they swarmed to the walls and threw powder-bags, stink-pots, and every missile into the boats; they eventually fell back and the troops were landed. The artillery fire was reopened on the breach and the rebels dis-

appeared. The troops were again got into order, and as it appeared that the rebels had left the storm-bridge over the ditch standing, the troops advanced by this, but they were again met by a very heavy fire, and a good many casualties took place, as they now got cowed. Major Gordon was struck just below the knee by a ball from the wall and obliged to go to his boat.

The sergeant-major of the 1st Regiment mounted the breach with his regimental flag, which the rebels wrested from him. Major Brown, the brother of the General, behaved very gallantly, taking Major Gordon's flag up the breach, when he was, however, wounded and carried back; the rebels fought with great desperation under a very heavy fire, and must have lost heavily.

On the failure of Major Brown's attack Major Gordon ordered a cessation of the same and the return of the troops to boats. The force was too small to renew the attack, which should not have been made with so few troops.

The loss was two officers killed—Major Tuite—and thirteen wounded, viz.—

Officers.		Rank and File.	
Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Staff.			
	Major Gordon.		
	Major Brown.		
	Colonel Kirkham.		
1st Regiment.			
	Colonel Tumblety.	35	80
	Captain Cramer.		
2d Regiment.			
Major Tuite . .	Colonel Williams.		
Captain Bemise .	Captain Mansell.		
	.		
5th Regiment.			
	Captain Wilson.		
	Lieutenant Radinor.		
	Lieutenant Bertrand.		
	Captain M'Mahon.		

A very heavy list; the men could be but ill spared; the men fought well, but were over-matched and rather cowed at the outset.

The night passed over with frequent attempts of the rebels to set fire to the boats. They came out and attacked the sentries all night, creeping up on their bellies, and, throwing powder-bags with slow matches into the tents, caused great confusion; the whole of the troops were glad when it became light enough to move away, which was done with order and without loss, the rebels meeting with a discharge of canister from the twenty-four-pounder howitzers when they tried to pursue the boats.

Letters now came up more and more alarming from Santagen, the Futai's brother, so the troops went back as quickly as possible to Liyang, where they arrived at 1 P.M. on the 23d March, and Major Gordon ordered all these troops to enter and form the garrison of Liyang, while he took the 4th Regiment, some 400 strong, and 600 Liyang men, who had been rebels and who had been placed under Rhode for instruction, and started at 2 P.M. with the light artillery for Wusieh, leaving General Li, against his will, in charge of Liyang.

These troops reached Yesing that night, and then went on towards Wusieh, which they reached in the morning of the 25th March, and where Major Gordon was met by despatches that Kougyin still held out, that Fushan had been taken, and that Chanzu was still being attacked; that the rebels had come down close to Wusieh, but had been driven back, and that the Imperialists still held their stockades at Chanchufu.

The troops halted for the night of the 25th March ten miles from Wusieh, on the canal that leads from that place to Kougyin.

The rebels had posts along the whole line from Chanchufu, past Kougyin, to Fushan, which it was Major Gordon's object to attack in order to make the rebels abandon their attack on Chanzu and fall back to confront him. He had sent to Colonel Hough and asked him to send up Lieutenant Cardew's Regiment of disciplined Chinese to Quinsan;

which was allowable, as the Chinese Government paid for the men.

It is necessary now to turn to Ching and his attack on Kashingfu, and to Tso Chetai and the Franco-Chinese who were attacking Hangchow.

General Ching left Pingwang on the 4th March and marched on Kashingfu. He attacked the outer stockades at the north gate on the 17th March, and captured them after a sharp resistance, and found that the rebels had constructed a series of redans or forts, open at the gorge, some 150 yards from the walls, which rendered access very difficult. He appears to have had very good information, and spies continually came to him, so that he knew all the details of the works.

On the 20th March, at night, he carried two of these outworks, and before morning had closed their gorges. He then established batteries for Bailey's guns, which opened fire on the 19th March. An assault was given, but though repeated twice Ching's men were driven back with heavy loss. On the 20th March the fire of the heavy guns was reopened and another assault made, when the rebels gave way and the place was captured.

The Ting Wang and the Yung Wang were killed, the one by a shell and the other by the Imperialists. The Ting Wang had walled up the gateways, which prevented any men escaping, and owing to their commander Ching being wounded, the Imperialists showed but little mercy. Three Europeans

were also killed with the rebels. Ching had been struck in the head by a bullet as he was trying the depth of water in the ditch just before the assault. He was taken back to Souchow.

It is necessary to remark that very soon after the capture of the stockades by General Ching on the 10th March his European officer Bailey was astonished to see the *Tsatlee* steaming up towards Kashingfu. It was, however, soon hailed, and there being a barrier across the creek could proceed no farther. After some inquiry it was found that she had been run away with from Shanghai, as already mentioned, and in ignorance of Ching's forces being at Kashingfu had attempted to run into the city. The foreigners were to have received £20,000 for her from the rebels. She was given back to her owners and the ringleaders were tried, and one Morris, who had been engaged in the capture of the *Firefly*, sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.

The Franco-Chinese under D'Aiquebelle having arrived at Hangchow in February, made an attack in combination with the Imperialists on the rebel stockades outside the south of the city on the 4th March. They carried about twelve of them, and now began to close in the city. They erected a battery and breached the gate on the 9th March, and assaulted, but were repulsed. They renewed the assault on the 20th March, and were again repulsed, losing one officer and eight men killed, and six officers wounded.

The point of attack was badly chosen at a gate which was placed in semicircular bastions projecting clear of the main rampart, and having a double entrance, so as to isolate the inner gate in the enceinte from the outer opening in the side face of the bastion. Thus when the front wall was breached there was still the other wall to be attacked.

Tsah, the ex-Wai Wang, had moved about the middle of March towards the north of Hangchow from Haining, which threatened the rebel communications in that city, and led them, with the prospect of more assaults from the Franco-Chinese, to vacate it on the 21st March.

Of course Li Futai put down their evacuation of Hangchow as a sequel to that of Kashingfu, while Tso Chetai did the reverse; he did not at all approve of General Ching, a Kiangsoo general, taking a city in his province.

The rebels evacuated Yuhang on the same day (2d March 1864), and fell back on Wuchufu.

There are a large range of mountains which run from Hangchow to Kwanteche and Liyang, and thence to Nankin. These mountains are not inhabited; they form the boundary between Che-kiang and Angwhui, and were much used by the rebels in these times, as, when once in them, they were safe from the Imperialists, who did not choose to follow them into their fastnesses.

It is now necessary to return to Major Gordon, who was on the morning of the 26th March *en route*

to check the advance of the rebels. He had with him only 400 rifles and the light artillery, as the Liyang men under Rhode had not yet arrived. As these men, who were in boats, passed through the country they saw the ravages the rebels had recently committed on the villagers in every direction in their advance on Wusieh. The houses had been burnt and the people butchered in every direction. On one large village was a proclamation from the Hoo Wang, saying that these troops of his were on the way to Shanghai, and were going to take Souchow on their way.

At dusk the troops came on the rebels, who were ravaging the country and burning in every direction. They drove them out of their villages, and then halted for the night, which, however, was not spent quietly, for the rebels came down, and firing on our sentries tried to ride through our lines. Nearly the whole night nothing but great vigilance kept the position.

These rebels were old offenders, whom Hoo Wang knew would not run away. They were mostly Cantonese and Kwangsi men.

The next morning Major Gordon, who could not leave his boat, advanced to drive the rebels out of a village which they held in front of his position, and out of which they retired on his advance. At the same time a large body moved down towards the boats, which caused him to return.

In doing so the rebels gave an opportunity to

cut them off, which, being carried into effect, led to the bayoneting of some eighty or ninety in a village, and the forcing of a large body over a bridge under fire of a twenty-four-pounder howitzer. Some prisoners were taken, who said that the rebels engaged at Chanzu had given up their blockade, and had returned to meet the disciplined Chinese.

These operations brought the troops up to the forts of a range of hills near Kougyin, and which hills the rebels occupied at 2 P.M. The 4th Regiment advanced and drove the rebels out of two villages, and thence over the hills towards Waisso, a large village six miles nearer Fushan, and about three miles nearer Yangshui, a small walled town similar to Fushan, where they were joined by some more rebels. The two villages out of which the rebels had been driven were full of bodies of those unfortunate villagers who had not been able to escape before their arrival.

In the evening Major Gordon returned to the old camping-ground and met Yang, an Imperialist, who had with him 2000 troops, and who had placed himself so as to prevent any advance on Wusieh. Major Gordon found that if he continued to attack the rebels in the direction he had that day he would drive them on to fresh country and on to Chanzu. It was necessary to ascertain their headquarters, and drive them out of that back into their own territory. The men were also fagged with following the rebels all day, and were subjected to the same

annoyances from them all the night; so the next day (28th March) Major Gordon fell back to Hangchow, in order to advance on Waisso, which he had ascertained was their headquarters, and to drive them thence to Kougyin, and back past Yang to Tayau and Chanchufu.

He was reinforced by Colonel Rhode and the Liyang men, and, halting a day, moved on the 30th March to Lukachow, where a road and a creek led direct to Waisso, the latter, as it were, following the two sides of a triangle, the former following its hypothenuse.

Major Gordon, still unable to move from his boat, sent Colonel Howard and Rhode out to reconnoitre the road they were to take, while he visited Wang Futai, a high mandarin who had some troops stockaded near here.

On the 31st March, at daybreak, Major Gordon started with the light artillery for Waisso by the creek, while Colonels Howard and Rhode proceeded by land. They had orders to incline to their right before they came to the stockades, when they would join the boats.

The latter went on till they came close to the rebel position, but saw nothing of the infantry nor any firing. The rebels were inclined to come out on the boats, and as there was no infantry with them and the banks were too high to allow the guns to fire over, it was determined to retire in order to avoid capture: as it was, they had a narrow escape of being cut off.

The boats returned leisurely to the encampment, Major Gordon thinking that the infantry had been stopped by some creek which they could not get over and had returned. But when he arrived at the village (Lukachow) everything was in confusion —boats were leaving, men rushing about naked, some swimming the creek, and others running back with the greatest speed towards Hangchow.

The history of this was as follows:—Colonels Howard and Rhode had gone out and had driven the rebels out of several villages up to the rebel stockades of Waisso, some four miles from Lukachow. When they arrived there they distributed their men by companies in several directions, which was perceived by the rebels, who came out, and by degrees worked between Rhode and Howard, and at last got in their rear. The situation began to look awkward, when they decided on retiring. This began in an orderly manner, but when pressed by the rebels the pace was quickened; the walk became a run and a rout. The best regiment of the force and 600 Liyang rebels were in full flight, though well armed and with plenty of ammunition. The rebel horsemen, some 100, charged into the mass, leaving the bridles of the horses, and, armed with a sword in each hand, cut down the men right and left.

No attempt could be made to rally; it was a race for life for three miles up to Lukachow. The loss was fearful.

Captain Gibbon, Captain Chinkoff, Captain Hughes, Lieutenant Polken, Lieutenant Graves, Lieutenant Lethbridge Pratt, Lieutenant Dowling —killed.

Lieutenant Taylor wounded; 252 men killed, and 62 wounded; while 400 muskets were lost. This was a most disastrous affair. The remainder of the men were so scared that it was not safe to stay at Lukachow, so Major Gordon fell back to Hangchow, and sent to Liyang for the 3d Regiment the same evening.

None of the bodies could be recovered at the time, and great doubts existed as to the fate of the unfortunate prisoners. The rebels fought with great determination, and showed considerable tact in luring the men on.[1]

If the men had formed square, they knew well enough it would have been all right for them.

Major Gordon halted at Hangchow in order to send down his wounded to Quinsan and to get the men into some shape before trying Waisso again, and also to give his wound time to heal, till the 3d April, when he went up and camped about two miles from Waisso, where he met the Futai, who had come up from Souchow with 6000 Imperialists.

The rebels had since their victory moved again towards Chanzu, and had constructed on that road six stockades some five miles from Waisso.

[1] The Liyang men fought very bravely, and so did the 4th Regiment for some time. It was not the fault of the men, who were taken at great disadvantage.

Major Gordon, now recovered from his wound, determined to attack them on the arrival of the 3d Regiment, which took place on the 5th April.

He started on the 6th April, but the rebels vacated the stockade on his advance, and fell back on Waisso.[1]

The Futai now had a good many Imperialists up and was expecting more. The rebels were resting quiet at Waisso, little thinking the denouement of their expedition.

Their situation was as follows :—On the north of their position was a range of hills and then the Yangtze river; on the east was Kwosingling and a large force of Imperialists; on the south-east was the disciplined Chinese; on the south and west were large forces of the Imperialists; while to the north-west was Kougyin, held by the Imperialists. Between Kougyin and Yung's stockades the road to Tayau passed. Now the Imperialists held no force on this road, but had broken all the bridges on it when past Kougyin, and had arranged so that the rebels would imagine the road open to them to retreat, while when they did so they could be attacked, and more easily overcome than if they were attacked with no hope of getting away. Such was the state of affairs on the 10th April, when the men were paid their month's pay.

Major Gordon was now encamped a mile from Waisso, while the Imperialist forces, some 8000

[1] The villages they had occupied were full of dead villagers.

strong, were closing in on all sides. The rebels were from 8000 to 10,000 strong at Waisso and Yangshui.

In Che-kiang, Semen, a city south of Kashingfu on the Grand Canal, surrendered to Tso Chetai on the 7th April.

The Franco-Chinese were still at Hangchow, while a body of Imperialists were besieging Tesing, a city south of Wuchufu. While Pao-chiao, relieved from the necessity of guarding Tung Fan in consequence of the fall of Liyang, had advanced towards Chowyong, a city near Nankin, on the road from that place to Tayau.

The 1st, 2d, and 5th Regiments, siege artillery, steamer *Hyson*, and 1200 Liyang ex-rebels under General Li were at Liyang. These latter were officered by their own countrymen and well armed, and formed a formidable body.

On the morning of the 11th April Major Gordon advanced towards Waisso with the greatest caution, for the men had not got over their fears. He came on the rebel works at 9 A.M. and found that they had surrounded the town of Waisso with a series of stockades and breastworks.

Directing a fire from the twenty-four-pounder howitzers he moved the 4th Regiment and two mountain guns to the north of the rebel position, which seemed the weakest. The rebels were under the impression that the attack would be made from the south and on the stockade the howitzers were firing

on. The movement of the 4th Regiment disconcerted them, and they did not appear very decided in their movements, seeing which the 4th Regiment was told off to carry a small breastwork opposite them which the rebels vacated on their advance; they were pursued, and the men entered the next stockade with them, which was easily taken. This stockade turned the one on the creek in which the artillery were playing, which was then evacuated, leaving a gap in the rebel line through which the troops poured and threatened their retreat from the stockades on the other bank, which the rebels then vacated and moved out of the town, where some desultory fighting went on till at last they were compelled into a retreat from the neighbourhood altogether.

The Imperialists now followed them up and drove them in every direction over the country towards Tayau; a body of some 2000 held together and repulsed the attacks of the Imperialists.

The disciplined Chinese loss was nil; the rebels did not either lose many in the attack.

The village was full of rice, which the rebels had collected from the villagers; their position was very strong, and there were some sixteen stockades around the village strongly connected with breastworks, abatis, etc. Yangshui was evacuated the same day. Upwards of 150 of the Liyang men's bodies were found who had been taken prisoners and executed in the village, while on proceeding to the scene of the rout of the 30th March the bodies of the seven

European officers and those of many of the men were found, some with their heads off and otherwise mutilated. The officers had fallen fighting, and several graves around showed the burial-places of the rebels who had been killed in the encounter. The bodies were buried near the place where they had fallen with military honours on the 11th March.

On the 12th April Major Gordon started with the troops towards Kougyin, and *en route* the 3d Regiment fell in with the rebels who were entrenched in a village, which, however, was soon taken.

Once started the Imperialists came down on them and they were thoroughly dispersed; the villagers who had followed in the track of the troops came up armed with every sort of weapon and fell on the rebels, who suffered fearfully among the creeks which abound. They were cut up in every direction.

Nothing could withstand the attacks of these infuriated people, whose houses had been burnt and relatives killed by the marauders; a great number of ponies were taken and several chiefs. All the Cantonese, Hupih, and Kwangsi men were executed, and of the expeditionary force barely 1000 escaped back by swimming the creeks to Tayau and Chanchufu. They were attacked on every side by a sortie from Kougyin and by Yung's troops, while their road was impracticable, owing to the Imperialists having broken the bridges.

On the 14th April Major Gordon marched the troops to the north gate of Chanchufu and recon-

noitred the city, which was surrounded on all sides but the west, where the rebels held some thirty stockades, and out of which gate they could retreat along the Grand Canal to Tayau.

He found that he would require all his force, so he arranged with the Futai to send troops to relieve his men from Liyang, and sent orders to them to join him.

He urged on the Futai to surround the city and not to let the rebels escape, as they would only ravage fresh districts.

It was necessary to make a detour from the north gate to get to the west gate, of some distance.

General Ching died at Souchow on the 13th April from the effects of his wound. He was a very brave and energetic leader, very apt in acquiring information, and the best general the Imperialists had.

Having reconnoitred the south gate, Major Gordon started to meet the troops coming from Liyang, which he did on the 17th April. The weather was very wet, so the force did not get farther than ten miles from west gate, Chanchufu, on the 21st April.

The whole force was now united, and consisted of some 4000 men, including General Li's Liyang men.

On the 22d April the force advanced towards the west gate stockades, in which direction heavy firing was heard all the morning. When it arrived

near there were evident signs of a fight going on, and soon the rebels were seen to vacate the nearest stockades, which were occupied by the force.

It appears that Li Futai, who was very angry with the military mandarins at Chanchufu for the little work they had done since January, had sent for them and addressed them, declaring he would degrade them if they did not take the stockades off the west gate. So accordingly they had attacked these stockades, backed by Bailey's artillery, on the morning of the 22d April. The rebels had repulsed them twice in this attack on one stockade, although the Imperialists had twice entered it, and had been only taken in the third attempt, just as the disciplined Chinese approached. There were only ninety Canton men in it, all of whom were killed; the Imperialists lost very heavily, Yung being shot through the chest. The rebels in the other stockades seeing this, and the approach of the Quinsan force on their flank, evacuated the other stockades and fled towards Tayau.

The rebels, however, had repulsed the attempt of the Imperialists on a stockade near the south gate which defended a bridge over the Grand Canal, and which, with some eight others close to the city wall, they still held on the night of the 22d April.

The garrison of these stockades sent out to offer to surrender at dusk, and Major Gordon offered them terms if they wished it, but it appears that Cantonese were too much in the ascendant, and no

arrangements were made. Some ten or twelve deserted, who warned Major Gordon that they were going to break out.

At 9 P.M. and 10 P.M. they sallied forth in great strength, and had to force their way out, but were driven back into their works.

At daybreak on the 23d April Major Gordon attacked the stockades nearest to him, while the Imperialists renewed their attack on the stockade defending the bridge from which they had been repulsed the day before. The rebels had left some houses standing near the bridge leading into their stockade, which were taken advantage of by Major Gordon's men. The attention of the rebels was drawn off to the point on which the artillery were playing, and on which they kept up a smart fire. The men crept up to the ruined houses, and making a rush secured the bridge, and forced their way into the stockade. The rebels then gave in in every direction, and about the same time vacated the stockade defending the bridge.

All the stockades on the south bank of the Grand Canal were now taken, but the rebels still held out on the north bank in a very strong stone fort, which defied the efforts of the Imperialists to take.

Some 200 of General Li's Liyang men crossed the canal over the boats by which it was crammed, and got in rear of this fort. They then burst in the gate and took it. The discomfited rebels

ran from the stockade to the city, the walls of which were manned by great numbers of rebels, but they were met with a volley from the walls and refused admittance. After an hour or so Hoo Wang relented, and they were pulled up the wall by cords, some of the chiefs being executed for losing the stockades.

Close to this large stone fort was the remains of the *Firefly*, with a junk alongside containing her engine. There were evident signs of there having been some Europeans working on her. She had been newly decked and repaired. She was taken down to Quinsan, and afterwards given up to the Futai.

Some two or three of the Europeans ran towards Tayau, and eventually gave themselves up to the Consul at Chinkiang.

Chanchufu was now closely surrounded on every side. The garrison were under Hoo Wang and Tso Wang, and were mostly Cantonese.

On the 24th April Major Gordon moved his force round to the south gate, near which he proposed to attack.

To return to Che-kiang. The Imperialists under Tso Chetai captured Tesing on the 25th April, while near Nankin Pao-chiao accepted the surrender of Chowyong on the 20th April, and from thence advanced on Kintang, which was evacuated on the 25th April 1864, the rebels joining the She Wang in Kwangsi, where they now held three cities. While

troops from Shinkiang had advanced on Tayau and north of Chanchufu, and near the Yangtze the small city of Monghoo was evacuated, the rebels retiring on Tayau.

On the 25th April the rebels held only the cities of Chanchufu, Tayau, Nankin, Wuchufu, Kwanteche, and the three towns in Kwangsi where She Wang was.

The point where Major Gordon had decided on for his breach was midway between the east and south gates. He obtained a thousand Imperialist soldiers from the Futai to construct his batteries, which were some 200 yards from the wall. These were thrown up at night, and the men were hard at work when, the picket thinking that the rebels were making a sortie, fired a volley into the working party, which they repeated two or three times before it could be stopped. Colonel Tapp, commanding the artillery, and some twenty Imperialists were killed and thirty wounded, the unfortunates being between two fires, as the rebels opened heavily from the walls. Colonel Tapp was a great loss; he had been a warrant officer in the Royal Navy, and had been allowed to purchase his discharge and join the force in 1862. He was a most energetic, brave officer, and had more influence over his men than any other commander.

The Futai was most anxious to take the place with the Imperialists. He therefore ordered Colonel Bailey with Ching's artillery to breach the wall

between the south and west gates on the 26th April.

When the breach was practicable at 3 P.M. the Imperialists assaulted, but were twice repulsed with heavy loss. The artillery of Gordon's force had opened on the town at the same hour to distract the attention of the rebels.

That night the batteries were armed and finished, and at daybreak, 27th April, the artillery opened again on the wall. By 12 A.M. the breach was practicable, and under fire of the artillery the two pontoon bridges were placed over the ditch, which was sixty feet wide and eight feet deep. Major Gordon had arranged that a fresh body of Imperialists should assault at their breach, and the same time as he did at his. The rebels made no show on the walls.

At 1 P.M. two regiments were sent to the assault, when the rebels manned the breach in great numbers and threw fire-balls, bags of powder, and every sort of missile on to the storming party. Hoo Wang was to be seen cheering his men on, and firing into the assailants. About ten or twelve of the officers and men mounted the breach, but they were driven back and the column recalled.

The Futai sent to ask Major Gordon to renew the attack again at 2.30 P.M., which was done with the 3d and 4th Regiments; but although this time the officers got up to the crest of the breach the men did not follow, and after maintaining their position some twenty minutes under a shower of bricks,

bags of powder, etc., they were driven back, Captain Winstanley, Colonels Cante and Howard and Chapman having greatly distinguished themselves.[1]

After this repulse none were made again that day. At the Imperialist breach, and at the north gate, where Penell the Frenchman, who had adopted the Chinese costume, had breached the wall, the Imperialists had been defeated with loss.

Major Gordon had to abandon the pontoons and to regret the loss of a great number of his best officers and men, viz.—

[1] The officers came in a body and volunteered alone to assault a third time that day, but Gordon would not hear of it.

Officers.		Men.	
Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Major Morton, Comg. 3d Regt. Captain Rhodes, Artillery. Lieutenant Brown, Artillery. Lieutenant Chowne, Artillery. Lieutenant Gibb, 3d Regt. Captain Hammond, 3d Regt. Lieutenant Robinson, 3d Regt. Lieutenant Williams, 5th Regt. Captain Donald, 1st Regt. Captain Smith, 3d Regt.	Captain Everts, 4th Regt. Captain Henniken, 4th Regt. Lieutenant Malony, 4th Regt. Lieutenant Joha, 4th Regt. Lieutenant Donelly, 5th Regt. Captain Reynolds, 3d Regt. Lieutenant Machett, 3d Regt. Colonel Rhode, Staff. Captain Graham, 4th Regt. Colonel Howard, 4th Regt. Major Cawte, 4th Regt. Captain Cann, 4th Regt. Lieutenant Jones, 4th Regt. Captain Bailey, 5th Regt. Colonel Doyle, Comg. Artillery. Captain Dunn, Artillery. Captain Murphy, 4th Regt. Captain Maher, 1st Regt. Colonel Chapman, 5th Regt.	40	260

The Liyang men fought very well, and showed that they could do as well as the other men.

This defeat was most disastrous, as the summer was coming on, and the place where the troops were camped was far from healthy.

Major Gordon went to the Futai the next day, and explaining to him the approach by trenches, obtained a party of Imperialists every night to make these advances close to the edge of the ditch.

He used to lay the tapes down, and after explaining the work to the mandarins, would find that they fully comprehended the work, and executed it in first-rate style in perfect silence. Thus in a few days a series of trenches were made right down to the edge of the ditch, by which an advance could be made under cover. Several prisoners came out the next day, and reported a very heavy loss on the part of the rebels, the Tso Wang being himself killed by the splinter of a shell.

The rebels carried the pontoons up the breach, which necessitated the making of a cask bridge. The trenches were not completed till the evening of the 11th May.

Ching's men and Bailey's artillery came round to Gordon's right, and prepared to make a breach some 150 yards nearer the east gate.

While these trenches were being made the rebels at the east gate stockade surrendered, and were permitted to come over. The Futai, at Major Gordon's request, put up proclamations in large characters,

offering pardon to any who might give up the city excepting the Hoo Wang. This brought down deserters in dozens over the breach every day in spite of all Hoo Wang's endeavours to prevent it. These prisoners said that the Hoo Wang and the Canton men would not surrender, but were executing all those who seem to be likely to leave.

On the 5th May the chiefs of one-half the garrison sent out a letter to Major Gordon offering to give up the city if he would send the troops to the breach that night, and would make a false attack on the west and north gates. However, as there was much risk in this, Major Gordon gave up the idea, and this brought more men over in small bodies; 200 or 300 would leave the city per diem.

The rebels kept up an accurate fire from the walls and wounded several men, among whom Colonel Chapman, who was struck in the hip with a rifle bullet, from the effects of which he died soon after.

On the morning of the 11th May the fire, which had been slackened, reopened with vigour on the breach, while Colonel Bailey opened on another part.

The Futai had found out that Chanchufu had been taken by the Chang Wang in 1860 on that very day at 2 P.M., so he wished the assault made at the same hour. By 1 P.M. the breaches were practicable, and the bridges boomed out over the ditch. The rebels had thrown spiked boards, glass, and

every sort of obstacle in the breach, and had much strengthened it, but these were nearly covered up from the effects of the shells, which, fired from the thirty-two-pounder and eight-inch guns, brought down the wall in masses.

At 2 P.M., at the waving of a flag, the 1st Regiment and the Imperialists crossed the ditch without a word and slid up the breach. The rebels met them on the crest with fireworks, rockets, and powder-bags. There was a moment's pause, and then the column poured over into the place.

The rebels who had come out had warned us that the Hoo Wang had the *Firefly's* thirty-two-pounder gun bearing on the breach, and there it was some 150 yards off, directed on the breach and full to the muzzle with grape. The slow match had been damp, and the rebel charged with firing it had failed in doing so.

The Hoo Wang, who did not expect the attack, came up in haste with a large body of troops, who were met by the runaways, thrown into confusion, and Hoo Wang was taken prisoner. The other chiefs made rallies and attempted to retake the city (in one of which a panic seized the Imperialists), and had it not been for the 2d Regiment the city might have been retaken. As it was, 100 Imperialists were killed or drowned in crossing the ditch, but eventually the place was entered on all sides, and all resistance ceased. The Kwangsi and Canton men were executed, including Hoo Wang,

who was known to the Futai in Angwhui as having ravaged Loochow, the Futai's native city. These men were simply beheaded.

The loss was one officer (Lieutenant Greenlaw) and one man killed, and five men wounded.

The rebels did not expect the assault, and taken unawares could make no defence.

Tso Wang's body was found dressed in its robes for burial.

This ended the actions of the disciplined Chinese force.

They marched back to Quinsan on the 13th May.

Tayau was evacuated by the rebels under the Chang Wang's son on the 13th May (a split having taken place between him and the Ying Wang's uncle), who went down and joined She Wang, and then the rebels had left them Wuchufu, Changching, Nankin, Kwanteche, and three towns in Kwangsi, which had been captured by She Wang.

The Ying Wang's uncle was caught and executed by the Imperialists afterwards, and at the same time the twelve-pounder howitzer, lost by the British at Naizean in May 1862, was captured.

The force marched back to Quinsan, where they arrived on the 15th May 1864.

The order in council was to come into effect on the 1st June withdrawing Major Gordon and Dr. Moffitt from the service, and the Imperial Government, or Tseng kwoh fan, were neither of them anxious for the force to go to Nankin.

It therefore remained to either break up the force or to keep it near Shanghai. Now the latter was almost impossible, for, as has been said, it was not a force that could be kept inactive. Besides it was a very expensive body of men, who were full of likes and dislikes, and restive under any authority. The Futai offered Major Gordon what he thought was a fine remuneration to the officers and men, and that officer accepted it, and determined to break the force up.

The Futai agreed to take the artillery under Colonel Doyle into his employ. The fact is that Chinese troops are very good under their own officers, but put them under Europeans and they become perfect rebels to their own Government, which it is our endeavour to support. Any force under European officers will before long be ante-Chinese.

Major Gordon, by breaking up the force, saved the Imperialists and her Majesty's Government great trouble.

The troops having arrived at Quinsan on the 16th the various arrangements were made, and on the 21st the paymaster Ah, who had paid the force since its coming under the Futai, came up and paid off the subordinate officers according to their services, till at length, on the 26th May, there only were left the men themselves and the officers commanding regiments. The regiments were then paid off, and then the colonels and wounded in the hospitals.

The gratuities varied from £800 to £50 to the officers, while the men received £2 a-piece; the wounded received fair compensation, one officer receiving £1600 for the loss of his sight, and others in proportion, which, considering that the whole force had been paid at a very high rate throughout its career (and deservedly so, considering its exposure), could not be considered illiberal on the part of a Government so involved in debt as the Chinese. There were many of their Imperial troops twenty months in arrears of pay who had been also much exposed.

Considering that throughout this ten years the Chinese Government had contracted with England and France, had had to pay to those countries two-fifths of her customs revenue as indemnity, and had expended half-a-million sterling on the Sherard Osborne fleet, it will be allowed she had her difficulties; and also that, as far as the Futai of Shanghai or Prince King are concerned, on looking over their despatches during this time there will be little seen of a cringing or dependent nature in them. There was never any doubt in the mind of the Government officials of the result of the rebellion ultimately.

Before closing this subject it should be mentioned that the exertions of Dr. Moffitt, the only other British officer besides Major Gordon in the force, were incessant; his skill and energy carried him through his arduous work, which, when it is

considered that he had to look after the sick and wounded of 3000 to 4000 men constantly engaged, with only one assistant, will amount to something. The obligation Major Gordon is under to him can never be repaid.

Major Brown, his aide-de-camp, the brother of General Brown, was also a most indefatigable officer, as were also several others whom it would be invidious to mention.

Captain Davidson of the *Hyson*, who had served through the whole of these operations, and thence went on to Wuchufu, was a most gallant trustworthy man. He died of fever in Shanghai on 30th November 1864, much regretted.

VII

FROM JUNE TO SEPTEMBER 1864

THE Imperialists on the 1st June 1864 captured the rebel outworks in the Kuangyin Hill, and drove the rebels into the city of Nankin with the loss of 300 men. This capture nearly completed the circle round the city, and did so sufficiently to prevent any supplies entering. The rebels still held some forts on the Yangtze river, close to the city walls.

The Imperialists had exploded several mines at different places around the walls, which obliged the garrison to keep continually on the alert.

The Tien Wang remained quite apathetic, and the misery of the people became greater and greater, till at last the Chung Wang determined to send out the old women and children which he did, to the number of 5000, and who were taken care of by Tseng kwoh fan's brother and provided for. Anarchy now reigned in the city; the Canton men robbed and murdered whom they liked without hindrance.

Major Gordon visited Nankin on the 26th June, and went over the Imperialists' works, which were

of very great extent, from twenty-four to thirty miles in length. The circuit had been made of the whole city, and in that date there was no outlet for the rebels, the works were strong, consisting of mud forts with good ditches, joined by double bars of breastworks facing against the city and against an enemy from the outside: at important places they were double and treble. There were some 80,000 men indifferently armed; in these works they looked well fed and happy, although some of them had twenty months' pay owing them. Major Gordon found that they were very proud of Tseng kwoh fan.

He went to the gallery they were driving from near the Ming tombs under the wall. They had raised two or three mud forts some 200 yards from the wall, and had already driven 154 yards of gallery; they did not sink a deep shaft, but worked so as to keep seven feet of earth over their heads. Here and there were ventilating holes. At the distance mentioned they had begun to diverge into six or eight branches to avoid the rebels, who moved against them, and who had, only a few days previously, broken into one of the galleries and killed some Imperialists. The casing of the gallery was brushwood supported on frames. The position of the gallery was good, there being no ditch to the city on the east side. The men who worked the gallery had been brought from a great distance, expressly for the purpose. They had been employed in working

coal-seams, where they crop out of the ground, and drove eight to ten yards of gallery per diem.

Major Gordon visited the Yu-hua-ta hill (Porcelain Tower), from which a magnificent view of the city is obtained. The Imperialists had had great difficulty in taking the rebel forts, which were of very great extent, perhaps a mile in circumference, on the hill. They had worked their stockades and breastworks round it so as to isolate it from the south gate of the city, taking three to four months to do so. They had been subjected to incessant attacks from the rebels, but had persevered, and when they had worked their trenches nearly completely round the hill they attacked, were repulsed, and attacked again with fresh troops till the rebels, pressed for rice and ammunition, gave way, and were driven out.

From the Yu-hua-ta hill the whole city is visible, with the various palaces of the Wangs, the Tien Wang's palace being conspicuous by its size and yellow-tiled roofs, which glistened in the sun; next to that was the Chung Wang's palace. All these palaces or tus were surrounded by high walls, and were considered by the Imperialists to be fortresses. The Tartar city had not a building standing in it, and the whole city looked desolate and forsaken; scarcely a man was to be seen along the whole extent of wall, some twenty-five miles, and no one in the streets. The Imperialists had constructed a roadway with fascines and brushwood for three miles across a morass, which enabled them to communicate

with the Yangtze river without a long detour. It was a wonderful work, and showed their pertinacity.

Tseng kwoh tsuen received Major Gordon very civilly. He did not seem to be in a hurry about the capture of the city, but to be quite confident that it would fall shortly.

The Pekin Government had sent down to order Li Futai to send up to Nankin the artillery under Colonel Doyle (late Gordon's artillery), and that under Colonel Bailey, with the Imperialists lately under General Ching, and now under Lin; and Wang and Li Futai had asked Major Gordon to select the best point for attack, which he did near the north-east angle.

The wall of Nankin is some forty feet high, and the rampart is some fifty feet thick; on the west side there is no ditch, the spurs of the hills running into the city, over which the wall runs. From Yu-hua-ta the reverse of the walls in some parts can be distinctly seen.

Tseng kwoh fan himself remained at Nganking, some 160 miles up the river, being governor-general of five provinces—Kiangsoo, Kwangsi, Che-kiang, Angwhui, and Tuhkien.

On the 30th June the Tien Wang, seeing the utter hopelessness of his cause, swallowed gold leaf and killed himself. His death was kept secret for some days, when his son Hung-fu-tien was proclaimed Tien Wang. The corpse was buried by one of his wives in the garden behind the palace,

where it was dug up afterwards by the Imperialists. It was draped in yellow silk embroidered with dragons, the head was bald, and the moustache gray.

On the 8th July Chûng Wang made a sortie in force, but after a severe fight was driven back. He was anxious now to surrender, but was so closely watched that he could not get away. An attempt he made was discovered through the drunkenness of one of his adherents, and nearly cost him his life.

On the 19th July the gallery was ready and charged; but the rebels had some idea of it and made a sortie, in which they nearly destroyed the works. They were, however, driven back, and everything being ready the charge was fired—some 40,000 lbs. of powder—which blew a breach clean through the wall some 150 feet wide. False attacks were made on all sides at the same time, the Imperialists poured into the city, but Chung Wang rallied and repulsed them when near the Tien Wang's palace, with loss. This he held till 12 midnight, but owing to the Imperialists having entered by creeks at other parts, he found he could no longer hope for success, so he set fire to and blew up the Tien Wang's and his own palaces, and fell back to the south-west of the town. The Imperialists attacked him and his men in their retreat and disorganised them, taking the three seals of the Tien Wang, two jade and one gold one.

At 4 A.M. Chung Wang with the young Tien

Wang, to whom he had given his own pony (a very fast one), with Hung-jen-ta, or the Fu Wang, and 1000 men attempted to break out over the south gate. They had a severe fight and lost heavily; but Chung Wang, the young Tien Wang, and Fu Wang got way, pursued, however, by the cavalry of the Imperialists. Chung Wang, wounded and badly mounted, got separated from the young Tien Wang and tried to hide himself in the hills, where he was eventually captured with the Fu Wang, the young Tien Wang getting away. Chung Wang's fidelity in giving his own pony to the young Tien Wang is a noble trait in his character, and there is throughout his career a marked difference from the other rebel leaders. He was universally beloved by the rebels, and the country people were always inclined to speak well of him personally.

After Chung Wang's departure, at about 8 A.M. on the 20th July, the Imperialists renewed their advance into the city, and with the exception of the Cantonese, who held out till the 21st, the city was in their hands by the evening.

It must be mentioned that about the time of the explosion of the mine Captain Rouse, of the steamer *Confucius*, and being in the Chinese employ, was asked to take the river forts, which he did in first-rate style, with the loss of one or two men wounded.

The only prisoners of note were the Chung Wang and Fu Wang, or Hung-jen-ta, the brother of the Tien Wang, who were taken care of, and not

in any way ill treated: they were not chained. The Chung Wang wrote his Life while in confinement.

It had been intended that he should have been sent to Pekin, but it was decreed afterwards that he should be executed at Nankin, which he was on the 7th August, with the Fu Wang. He was not in any way tortured, but simply decapitated, and his head sent to Souchow and Hangchow.

The young Tien Wang escaped to Kwanteche and thence to Wuchufu, but on the evacuation of that place he fled to Ningqwoh and thence to Chang-shih, where he was captured by Shen-pao-chen and executed.

The city of Nankin was found in a very deplorable state; grass grew luxuriantly in the streets, and the houses were mostly in ruins. The country people who had been in the city were in the greatest want, and even the *bona fide* rebels had been hard pressed for food.

Judging from many statements there were not 15,000 fighting men in the city. Of these some 1500 escaped, while about 7000 were put to death. The 100,000 of the Imperialists is to be taken with caution, their estimates generally may be considered as gross exaggeration. They never, or the rebels either, had a victory that less than 10,000 were not killed.

The Imperial Government was greatly elated at this victory, the news of which reached them in six days. They made Tseng kwoh fan a marquis and

senior guardian of the heir-apparent. His brother was made an earl and junior guardian of the heir-apparent.

Tseng kwoh fan in his despatch, alluding to the capture of Nankin, draws a comparison with the rebellion and those under the Emperors Kanghi (1661 A.D.) and Kiaking (1796 A.D.)

The former ravaged four provinces and destroyed ten cities, the latter ravaged twelve provinces and destroyed 300 cities; while the Taeping rebellion ravaged sixteen out of eighteen provinces and destroyed 600 cities.

Tseng kwoh fan, the most powerful Chinaman out of Pekin, is fifty-four years of age, short, rather fat, with a very Chinese face, and with black beard and moustache. He dresses in the poorest clothes, and keeps no state. He is generous, fair, and honest, and may be said to be patriotic. He is greatly liked by all Chinamen, and there is little doubt that he has the power to be Emperor if he chose to be so.

Between him and Sung Wang, or Sang-ko-lin Sin, there is no friendship. They have been operating against the rebels for years, but have never seen one another.

It is necessary now to return to Li Futai and Souchow, and detail the captures of Changching, the evacuation of Wuchufu, and the extinction of the rebellion in the Che-kiang and Kiangsoo provinces.

The Futai had made preparations for sending his artillery up to Nankin in the middle of July, and in the meantime determined on advancing from Yesing against Changching, a city on the west coast of the Taiho lake, south of that city.

Kwosingling and Sin and Wang, with Ching's troops, started for Changching from Yesing on the 26th June, and arrived near the north gate on the 29th June. The rebels were under the command of the chief at Wuchufu, some twenty miles to the south-east, to whom they sent word of the advance of the Imperialists. This man Hwang-wen-ching, or Tow Wang, was commonly called the Yellow Tiger, "Hwang-fan-li." He was well known as a leader and good general.

He sent up on the 29th a reinforcement, which were, however, attacked and roughly handled by Ching's troops. The guns were put in position near the gate by Colonel Bailey, who opened fire at daybreak. The wall was very tough, and but little impression was made on it after four hours' firing. The rebels now made an attack on the Imperialists, but were repulsed and pursued towards the town. They were so hotly pressed that they had not time to enter the gates, but were driven past them. The garrison seeing this, and fearing an assault, got panic-stricken, and evacuated the city without suffering much loss.

Wuchufu, therefore, was the only stronghold of the rebels nearer than Kwangsi at the end of July, and against this city, which was very strongly

situated, were advancing three forces belonging to the Kianghoo Futai, and one force belonging to the Che-kiang chetai Tso.

The first of these consisted of Kwosingling and his troops and Lin and Wang with Ching's men, supported by Colonel Bailey and his artillery, and was to advance from Changching towards the west of the city. The second consisted of a gunboat flotilla which was to hold the Taiho lake (from which Wuchufu is five miles distant), and to cause a diversion to the north. The third was to advance from Pingwang towards the east gate of the city, and consisted of Imperialists under Paon, supported with a nondescript artillery, officered by some men lately of Gordon's force, and the steamer *Hyson*, Captain Davidson.

The fourth consisted of the Chekiang Imperialists under the Fante, of 1800 Franco-Chinese under Generals D'Aiquebelle, Giquel, and Schoedelen, and another force of some 800 men under Colonel Reynolds, and officered by Englishmen. These forces were stockaded and quartered to the south of the city, some twenty miles distant.

Colonel Cook remained with his thousand men at Ningpoo.

The country to the south and east of Wuchufu is thickly covered with mulberry trees, and intersected with large and deep creeks, well adapted for steamers. It is difficult to reconnoitre. To the west of the city there are ranges of hills extending

for some distance, while to the north there is the Taiho lake.

The Tow Wang had outposts some fifteen to twenty miles from Wuchufu in every direction, opposed to the Imperial forces.

Matters remained thus till the 20th July, when the ambitious movement of Tsah-yin-king (or Wai Wang, the ex-rebel chief of Taitsan), who with 8000 of his men was at Singpoo fighting on the side of the Che-kiang Imperialists, brought on operations which did not cease till the evacuation of Wuchufu.

The Tow Wang had some twelve foreigners with him, among whom was Patrick Nellis, an old sapper, who had been in Major Gordon's artillery.

The Franco-Chinese force, under Generals D'Aiquebelle and Giquel, some 1200 to 1400 strong, with the Fante and his Imperialists, were camped at Thedun, a position to the north of the city of Tesing, while General Schoedelen, with 600 Franco-Chinese of D'Aiquebelle's force, Colonel Reynolds and his contingent, Toe Taoutai of Ningpoo with his Imperialists, and Tsah with his ex-rebels, were at Linghoo, a large village midway between Hang-chow and Wuchufu, and on the main canal joining these two places.

In front of this village were some small hills some six miles distant, overlooking the country, and on one of which there was a rebel stockade. Tsah, taunted often by the Imperialist leaders with being a rebel, and wishing to distinguish himself,

determined to make an advance and to take the hill.

He left Lingpoo on the 12th July and marched towards it, reached the foot of it, but failed to take it. Establishing a stockade near it, he fell back a mile and entrenched himself at the village of Tung-poo. He had, however, in his advance crossed over a very wide canal by two bridges, which he did not occupy, hence the cause of his misfortunes.

When Paon heard of the advance of Tsah he was at Nankin, and determined that the Kiangsoo troops should not be behind. He advanced on Chequoar, and stockaded himself there about a mile from the rebel stockades at Saizu, which was held by Low Wang (Mow Wang's uncle, the same who had been met in November 1863 in the Taiho lake by the *Hyson*, coming from Wuchufu to Souchow).

Paon heads an attack on the Saizu stockades on the 24th July, in conjunction with the troops under Schoedelen and Reynolds, who came up to join him and his Imperialists, but was repulsed with loss of 150 killed, and 400 wounded; the Franco-Chinese 50 killed, and 120 wounded.

Tow Wang having repulsed the attack, moved down against Tsah, whom he had formerly known, and seized the two bridges in his rear, cut off his communications at Linghoo, constructing at these bridges very strong works, and a breastwork along the edge of the creek to prevent its passage.

Tsah was now completely hemmed in at Tung-

hoo, and had only provisions for ten days. D'Aiquebelle and Giquel were ordered up to relieve him, and they made their attack on one of the bridges on the 2d August, but they were repulsed, with the loss of one officer and several men killed. They then tried on 8th August to make a bridge across, but were again repulsed in that, and then sought to obtain a steamer. The bridges, however, would not allow of the *Hyson* proceeding, although Captain Davidson would willingly have gone.

The rebels were not content with the trap in which they had Tsah and his men; they tried to surround the other Imperialists, and Tow Wang, with Nellis, having organised a fleet of small boats, made use of them to capture some of the Imperialists' gunboats. On the 11th August Tow Wang sent out one of these little boats to fire on the Imperialists' gunboats, at the same time concealing a body of men on the banks. The Imperialists' gunboats advanced against the small boat, when others joined it, and the Imperialists advanced in force, when the small boats fell back, and the Imperialists' gunboats pursued till they came to the ambuscade, when the men fired into them and drove them out of the boats. The rebels then advanced on the Imperialists' position, who were thrown into confusion, and vacated their stockade. The rebels captured one of the Franco-Chinese field-pieces, a twelve-pounder howitzer with V.R. on it, which had been supplied to them by Captain Dew, and six boxes of shell.

Tsah held out till the 11th August, when he found his way out with 500 men. They had gone through great privations, had eaten all their horses, and many had died of hunger. Being ex-rebels, no quarter was shown to them by Tow Wang, and some 6000 were killed. The place was one vast charnel-house.

Tow Wang, having finished Tsah, returned to the west to meet the advance of the Imperialists from Changching, taking with him Nellis and the twelve-pounder howitzer.

These Imperialists had advanced from Changching on the 12th July, and had been held at bay at Tizan by the rebels for the last fortnight. Bailey had fired some thousands of shells at the works defending the bridge, and the Imperialists had made frequent attacks on them, but without success.

Tow Wang ordered the howitzer to be placed in position against the Imperialists. It opened on them at dawn, but Colonel Bailey returned it with such interest that the trunnion was knocked off the howitzer, and one of Nellis's men was killed.

Tow Wang, Nellis, and the gun then went back to Wuchufu, where the Kan Wang, who had escaped from Nankin with two or three hundred followers, arrived on the 13th August.

Paon attacked again on the 31st July, but after his men got into the stockades they were driven out again by the rebels, owing to the fire from the artillery coming too soon.

Paon, who had now constructed breastworks close up to the rebel position, renewed his attack on 13th August, but could make no advance owing to the determined fire of the rebels. The *Hyson*, under Captain Davidson, received two shot through her padddle-boxes. At 1 P.M. Captain Davidson determined to put the steamer full speed at the barriers of stakes, etc., which the rebels had placed across the creek, and to push the steamer past the stockades and gain their rear. This he did. The steamer forced her way through and got in rear of the stockades, which were then fired into, and eventually evacuated by the rebels. The *Hyson* captured thirty-six gunboats and 100 other boats, and to her gallant captain is due the credit of the day.

The rebels fell back to a very strong position three miles from Tizan, where there is a small hill, Sinshan.

Tow Wang sent out to Captain Davidson to ask where his wife was, who had been captured in the lake, having recognised the steamer. She was at Souchow, married to another man.

The Imperialists advanced against the rebels at Sinshan on the 18th August, without the steamer, and were driven back.

About this date the rebels defending the bridge against the Imperialists advancing from Changching surrendered to them, which, combined with the loss of Tizan stockades, determined the Tow Wang to vacate the city.

He and the Kan Wang assembled the whole of the rebels and addressed them, recommending their retreat to Kwangsi. Nellis was present, and Kan Wang, who spoke a little English, asked him if he would go to Kwangsi with him. Nellis said Yes; when Kan Wang said he had never met a good foreigner.

In their addresses the Wangs detailed their past defeats, and urged the men to leave the vicinity of the forts and of the foreign devils.

The arrangements were made on the 27th August, and at 3 A.M., 28th August, fires were lighted on the gates as signals to the rebel outposts around to set fire to their stockades and to retire to the city. At 4 A.M. the city was evacuated and then set on fire. The boats had been collected in a sort of lake at the north of the city, with all the loot, etc., and the march was very orderly till the Imperialists under Kwosingling commenced to press them, when it became hurried and then a rout, the able-bodied rebels getting away, but losing all their boats and property, and escaping into the mountains, whence they proceeded to join She Wang in Kwangsi.

Nellis with his companions were in the boat with the twelve-pounder howitzer when they were pursued by the Imperialists, and barely escaped with their lives. Two of his companions were captured and killed by the Imperialists. Nellis, after suffering great hardships, arrived at Shanghai. His experience of the rebels was not encouraging. The

Tow Wang had paid him for the eleven foreigners some 4000 cash a day at first, but when he saw that foreigners were fighting against him he gave only 1000, and latterly none at all, so that Nellis and his companions had to exist as they could. His account of the rigour of the Tow Wang's rule is appalling. Every offence was punished by death—that by burning being reserved for treachery. The people were starving, and there were no tribunals of any sort.

The evacuation of the city by the rebels was known to the *Hyson*, which went up to the city at 8 A.M. on the 28th August, while the Franco-Chinese and Che-kiang Imperialists did not reach the city till 4 P.M. the same day.

It was much destroyed by the fire, but still was a fine city, and beautifully situated.

The Franco-Chinese under Generals Giquel, Schoedelen, D'Aiquebelle went back to Hangchow, and were there disbanded. Reynolds' force (he himself having been killed at Suzan) was also disbanded.

The rebels retreated into Kwangsi, and but little was known of their movements for some months. They were heard of through the Pekin Gazettes as being driven out of Kwangsi into Fuh-kien, and at the end of October 1864 they came down and captured Changchow, a large city some thirty miles from Amoy, where they now are under She Wang, who, as the protector-general of Heavenly Dynasty, has issued proclamations to the foreign

nations and his countrymen, in which he invites the former to join him in fighting against the Imperialists, and promises them the posts, if they will take them, and half the plunder of the cities he takes, and the latter to return to their villages and to pay taxes, etc.

The Imperialists are gathering fast around them, and although several officers of Major Gordon's force have joined them under the ex-colonels Williams and Rhode, they have not achieved much —in fact it is said both these officers are dead, the one from wounds, and the other by decapitation by order of the She Wang.

They do not hold more than three or four cities, and will before two or three months are over be again dispersed, to the disappointment of the dealers in arms in Micao and elsewhere.

After visiting Tseng kwoh fan Major Gordon remained near Shanghai till the fall of Wuchufu. He had established a camp of instruction for the Chinese troops, keeping the men under their native officers, translating into Chinese, with the assistance of Mr. H. E. Hobson, the various drill-books of artillery and infantry, and endeavouring to make the Chinese authorities take some interest and commence a nucleus of a regular army. But whether it was that the Pekin Government did not look with favour on reorganisation taking place in a province and thence were jealous of it, but little encouragement was given beyond words, and although the troops took to it heartily and learnt quickly, the

footing on which the camp was, was not satisfactory, and Major Gordon left it in November and returned to England, Major Jebb, Her Majesty's 67th Regiment, having assumed the command.

The Futai has retained Colonels Bailey and Doyle and their artilleries, while he has given every encouragement to Mr. Macartney, who is thoroughly trusted by him, and who has now quite an arsenal at Souchow. He can turn out 3000 shell per mensem for twelve-pounder, thirty-two-pounder, and eight-inch guns, can make capital fuzes and tubes, and has lately cast some eight mortars and twelve-pounder guns. He has 100 Chinese and six foreign workmen employed daily, and his energy and ingenuity is creating quite a revolution in China.

In conclusion, on looking back on the difficulties the Imperialists had to contend with for the last fifteen years, when they were as it were surprised by the rebellion, it will be granted that they have triumphed from their perseverance and determination, while whatever may have been said respecting foreign assistance, any of our officials who have been thrown with the higher mandarins will own that they never saw any abasement in their requests of assistance—it frequently happened that we offered assistance before it was asked for, and thus through our eagerness the Chinese have, to a certain degree, made their own terms and maintained their independence.

We must not expect gratitude from them. Nations are proverbially ungrateful, and it will only be by degrees that the Chinese will adopt reforms or innovations. The higher officials have the greatest difficulty in introducing them, and it would require a very brave official to bring in railways, which would throw so many people out of work and thence probably into rebellion.

To think that the Pekin Government or the provincial authorities would agree to Mr. Lay's terms showed a great want of knowledge on the part of that gentleman. These mandarins, Tseng kwoh fan, Yang-yo-ping, and others had been engaged with the rebels for years before they knew of Mr. Lay, and had done very good service for the State. It was not likely that they would abdicate their power and position, and consent to be dictated to by a foreigner they had never heard of except as their employé.

Had Mr. Lay, before going up to Pekin in 1863, taken a trip up the Yangtze and seen Tseng kwoh fan, he would have seen how utterly hopeless it would have been for him to have carried out his views even if the Pekin Government had assented to them. He has laid the blame of his failure on Sir Frederick Bruce's objection to withdraw Major Gordon from the Imperial service, as if that withdrawal would have been so injurious to the Imperialists at this time as to make them consider his terms; enough has been written to show that the

Imperialists had the upper hand now, and would have sooner or later put down the rebellion of themselves. They owe us the preservation of the money springs of the two Kiang Shanghai, and which preservation would have enabled them to eventually have triumphed.

"ADDRESS FROM THE TAEPING CHIEF AT CHANGCHOW TO THE TREATY POWERS

"10*th February* 1865.

"His Royal Highness, Lee-Shai-yin, Shee, King and Imperial Protector-General of the Celestial Dynasty, to their Excellencies, the Plenipotentiaries of England, France, United States, and the people of their respective countries.

"Since creation our Chinese Empire was first governed by Shinnung, then by the Emperors Yaw and Shun, who afterwards resigned their throne; again the Emperors Tang and Mo attained their throne by force of arms; then Dynasties Chun, Han, Ngai, and Tsun transmitted their throne to their respective posterity, and were succeeded by the Dynasties Tang, Sung, Yune, and Ming; it would be a matter of considerable difficulty, when referring to the distant generations, to repeat them all, but as a nation it had hitherto been in amity with all your various nations, no distinct border having been marked out. I was born late, and have not had the fortune to view these good prospects and to enjoy the administrations of the benevolent government: but I have examined maps of the world and studied the histories, and I am happy to possess a thorough knowledge of them, and the contents of which are as before me. For a man to guard a place, the watchword is to remember the fact that when the lips are cut off the teeth will be endangered (to be in amity with the adjacent countries); and for one to keep intercourse with neighbouring countries it is essential not to forget the maxim of one large nation serving another small one. Of the history of China, in counting back from the Dynasties of Ming and Yune, there have been innumerable successive

revolutions of kingdoms, who invariably paid tributes, and presented precious stones to each other when due, and who never encroached upon others' territory. But the Tartars were of a different species, remarkable for their ravenous disposition, and for this reason the central kingdom, with the eastern provinces, in order to prevent their invasion, built the great wall. Unfortunately, during the latter part of the Ming Dynasty, they were allowed to invade the interior; we became their victim, and have since been disgraced by them for these two centuries and more. Who then with common sense and natural patriotism would not strike his breast and weep? Even your various nations, in a practical point of view, are countries, and in relation as lip to teeth would not fail, I think, to hate them.

"Long had it been designed to raise the just standard, but in consequence of there being few in China who would support the movement, the design had for a time to be abandoned. Happily our Heavenly Father, the Almighty God, did not desert the descendants of Han (China), and hated the Tartars, and sent down my lord, who settled at Kinling as a basis of operations for more than ten years, and during that period exterminated thousands and ten thousands of Tartars. My lord had always been in friendship with the heroes and enterprising men of your various nations who carried on their respective trades as usual; further, the provinces of Kwang, Cheh, Yu, and others have been opened, and the ministers and people of various nations have travelled and rambled, and trade has been carried on uninterruptedly as usual. Is this not excellent? In obedience to my lord's command I have been ordered to extirpate and root out the Tartars. Recently I attacked and took Changchow, where I encamped my soldiers. Whilst there I was glad to hear that you were close by, and I would ere this have sent a despatch to you, but various difficulties were thrown in the way. I now write this and tell the people of Tai-po-tsz of Chachow to present it for your perusal, earnestly hoping that after reading you will consider the importance of lip lost and teeth endangered phrase, and perceive the advantage of a large nation serving a small one; that you will support our just movement by combining together to put an end to the Tsing Dynasty, in order that the people may live in happiness and your various natives may

enjoy peace. The doctrine of our Heavenly Father the Almighty God, and of Jesus Christ, teaches us that He is merciful, saving us, answering to prayers and unselfish—all mankind should look to future and believe in Christianity.

"Therefore more than ten years before my lord's ascension to the throne he believed in Christianity, as his conduct would show.

"He also received the Rev. Mr. Roberts, who preached the Gospel to the Chinese, who believed and praised with him to God. We have welcomed your doctors, who cured many Chinese and healed their diseases. We all feel grateful for their merciful kindness, and are under obligation for their favours. From this you will see that your nations and our Chinese, in a universal point of view, are as one. But the Tartars believe in Buddhism, despise Christianity, and turn a dead ear to its doctrine. It may be argued that belief or disbelief rests with them, and they will afterwards reap the fruit of their conduct. Well, why then do they persecute Christian converts so that their lives are in jeopardy? Therefore my lord reluctantly took up arms, raised an army, and coped with them. This has been going on for these more than ten years, and through the mercy of our Heavenly Father the Almighty God, and Jesus Christ, and through the assistance of your various nations, my lord has taken many cities and provinces, and killed innumerable Tsing devils. Still, to conquer and subdue an Empire of eighteen provinces, combined with a strong army of Mongols and Chinese, who have ample ammunitions of war and provisions, must be extremely difficult.

"Let us learn from the ancients as well as the moderns that to lead an army to battle it is indispensable to have reinforcements, and to establish a kingdom it is essential to get assistance from the neighbouring countries. Your various nations and China are at present like lip to teeth, and similar to a large country serving a small one. Let me ask you that, before my lord settled at Kaing-gan, could you get admittance into the interior? Now you can ride from east to west and from north to south, and the provinces of Hupih and Nganhoin have been opened to trade. If your various nations do not ally with me to exterminate the Tsing Dynasty, and in case our force is unable to cope with

the Tartars, as we are deficient in naval power, we shall be conquered, and the result of lip lost and the teeth endangered will soon follow. Therefore it is desirable that your various nations should embrace this opportunity as presented.

"If, on the other hand, your various nations, relying upon the omnipotence of our Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ, and acting upon the doctrine of Christianity, will come to terms with us for destroying the Tsing Dynasty, if you command your naval armies and attack those places near the water, and whatever cities, districts, ports, and passes you will have taken and conquered by your force, you will be at liberty, without the least hindrance on my part, to keep them; and whatever treasures and food found therein, you will be at liberty to appropriate them; and so I will attack on land, and whatever cities, districts, and passes I conquer, and whatever treasures and food I find, I will divide, giving one-half to you; and all the distant cities, ports, and marts will be surrendered to you.

"Thus, having your naval armies we can cross the ocean and bestride the rivers without obstacle and hindrance. Our army, I must confess, in its beginning is weak, and food is not plentiful, and unless your various nations lend a hand to assist me the Tartars will be more ravenous, and their ferociousness will be greater, and if once our army is subdued, they will as a matter of course come upon your various nations, when, it is clear, you will be precluded from trading and travelling in the provinces of Kiang, Kwang, Cheh, and Yu. I earnestly pray that you will despatch your soldiers and co-operate with me to exterminate the evil posterities, and that we all may obtain advantages. Hoping you will comply with my views is my earnest prayer.

"The statements I have made, though they are vulgar, I undertake to swear before Heaven that I will keep them. Let us write in benevolence to accomplish our undertakings; then we shall make peace with each other, trade with each other from generation to generation, and enjoy together universal peace. Is this not the best plan? The city of Chang has been and is a rich place. At present both the soldiers and inhabitants are happy, trade is flourishing, and treasures are plentiful. I also earnestly request that you will convey merchandise and vessels containing all kinds of foreign cargo, and the caps, powder, etc.,

which will be sold immediately, here. You have no occasion to fear that some of my men will take them without paying for them. I will make up the damages should they do so, and surely I will not break my promise.

"On the day of this epistle reaching you, you will favour me with a reply.

"With my best compliments to your gentlemen of your various nations, I am, your obedient servant,

"LEE-SHAI-YIN,

"*Shee King and Imperial Protector-General of the Celestial Dynasty.*

"TAEPING, CELESTIAL KINGDOM,
"*14th Year, 10th Moon, 1st Day.*"

NOTIFICATION FROM THE TAEPING CHIEF AT CHANGCHOW

"Notification from His Royal Highness Lee Shee, King and Protector-General, ordering the people to submit willingly, and to continue their occupations.

"Whereas agriculture is the chief of the occupations of mankind, upon which people necessarily subsist, and whereas since I have ruled this city I have always informed the people everywhere that they may continue their duties and occupations as usual—be it therefore known that those who submit to this government are called good people. Strict orders have been given to my officers and soldiers not to make any disturbances among the inhabitants, which orders you must have heard.

"But how is it that at present the fields are left uncultivated, and all agricultural business seems to be entirely neglected? The plantations of sugar-canes are nearly ready for harvest, but will spoil if not cut, and the grains and paddy are nearly rotten, the reason of which we cannot comprehend. Probably the raising of arms is the cause of it, of which the people stand in awe, consequently they moved to their countries; or is the cause that, at the time of fighting, they are afraid that they may be implicated, that on this account they fled to other places? But the benevo-

lent and just army will not destroy the good people; while they exterminate the wicked they will not punish the innocent.

"Now, two villages on the south and north have already submitted, they are settled as usual; you people should be diligent at all times in trade and agriculture.

"Further, in the four villages of that place the sugar-canes may be converted into sugar, and the grains be collected if you do not immediately return and resume your occupations, then how will the people get their subsistence? Furthermore, the people who fled away have not paid their taxes due, being thus ignorant of the plan of seeking peace.

"I treat others with great liberality, and therefore again issue these notifications, intimating to you that all those who have fled away may quietly return to cut the sugar-canes and collect the grains, and those who have not paid their taxes must, with submissive mind, come and pay their taxes. You must not cherish any doubt or hesitation, nor have a different heart, otherwise you will too late repent what you have done. I protect the people as children, and look upon them as wounded; therefore, for more than a month, since I have taken possession of the place, I have never allowed a single soldier or officer to go to any village to give trouble. Now all the regulations have been arranged and the laws rectified, and strict orders have also repeatedly been given to the army, thus treating you people bountifully and kindly. When the superior is so affectionate, you inferiors should readily come and pay tributes.

"After this notification is issued, if those who have not paid their taxes still insist on their obstinacy by disregarding it, troops will be raised to punish them, in order to warn those who are perverse and stubborn."

REMINISCENCES

BY ONE WHO SERVED WITH GORDON IN CHINA

I

THE reports which appeared in the papers published in Shang-hae, North China, the early part of the year 1863, of the successes obtained by the force of disciplined Chinese, under Major C. G. Gordon, R.E., in the province of Kiang-su, over the Taepings or rebels, under which latter name I shall speak of them hereafter, and republished in the Hong Kong papers, in which fever-stricken haunt I was serving with my regiment, made myself and others most anxious to proceed to the scene of operations and if possible see active service with this force. Unfortunately I was one of the junior subalterns, and as two of my brother officers, my seniors, had already obtained appointments in Major Gordon's force, I was told by the military authorities that my application could not then be entertained. The old proverb, "that everything comes to him who waits," was exemplified in my case, for about the middle of July the military authorities, "weary of my importunities," I suppose, granted me leave to proceed to

Shang-hae, and better still, promised that if I could get employment in the force under Major Gordon, no objections would be made to my taking the same.

Before leaving Hong Kong many of the mercantile community, with whom I was on terms of intimacy, tried to dissuade me from my project; spoke of Major Gordon as a freebooter and in other disparaging terms; said, that to crush this rebellion was a wrong to the Chinese nation; far better to let them fight the matter out without English interference; what was the good of our meddling in a national squabble, in which the rebels had proved themselves the better men? etc. etc. I did not know then that the crushing of this rebellion meant a loss of many dollars to my would-be counsellors. The word "Boycott" was not coined, but plainly was I given to understand by some of them that if I joined Major Gordon I should have the cold shoulder.

Youth, high spirits, good health, and a desire to see active service, to say nothing of the prospect of getting away from the monotony of regimental and garrison life, carried the day, and sorry as I was to leave my Hong Kong friends, whose kindness and hospitality will ever be a green spot in my memory, engaged a passage on board the steamship *Robert Lowe*, a transport many Crimean officers will recollect as very slow but comfortable, and left Hong Kong on one of the warmest days in my recollection, and after a tedious voyage, at one time rather perilous as we were caught in a typhoon, nearly lost,

and had to put into port to refit, arrived at Shang-hae, and made my way by boat—water travelling being the only means of transit—to the town of Quinsan, about forty miles from Shang-hae. This town had been captured by Major Gordon in the end of May, and now formed the base of his operations. In the city, in addition to a few of the departmental staff of Gordon's force, were Colonels S—— and C——, both of the —— Regiment, the former commandant of the city, and the latter commanding Kingsley's battalion of disciplined Chinese, about 1100 strong. To this corps I was posted.

Some little time elapsed after my arrival at Quinsan ere I could make Major Gordon's acquaintance, but one Sunday C—— and self started to where Gordon was, viz. in front of some stockades called the Loo-mun, about a mile west of Soochow, and eight or nine miles from Quinsan; these stockades formed the last of the rebel defences around Soochow, all the others having been wrested from them and re-occupied by Chinese Imperial troops. We arrived at about 11 A.M., and learned that Gordon with his troops had just returned from a reconnaissance in force on his right front, to which the rebels had made but little opposition. C—— introduced me to a light-built, active, wiry, middle-sized man, of about thirty-two years of age, in the undress uniform of the Royal Engineers. The countenance bore a

pleasant frank appearance, eyes light blue with a fearless look in them, hair crisp and inclined to curl, conversation short and decided. This was Major C. G. Gordon, R.E., the commander of the disciplined force of Chinese, which later had the title of "The Ever Victorious" bestowed upon it. This force never at any time exceeded 5000 of all ranks; in co-operation was a very large force of Chinese Imperial troops commanded by one General Ching, of whom Gordon had a very high opinion as a commander, but distinct in every way to the disciplined force.

I am anticipating a little, but I will give a slight description of the nature of the rebel defences at the Loo-mun stockades, to defend the water approach to the west gate of Soochow, and were as follows:—On our extreme right 1, a mud stockade about a quarter of a mile from the city, which was encompassed with a broad and deep stream; 2, a formidable-looking stone stockade about 20 feet high, loopholed for musketry, and bordering on to the water edge of the river, and situated about 600 yards to the left of No. 1. On the left bank, at about 300 yards from No. 2, was 3, a large mud stockade built also on to the edge of the river; the ground rose a little towards the proper right of this stockade; beyond it again was 4, a small mud stockade, say about 300 yards from No. 3. All these stockades were in echelon. The country between them and the city was flat, rather swampy, and afforded no cover for us.

After luncheon Gordon took us round the various positions. Amongst other places visited was a wooden "lookout" about 40 feet high, well advanced to our right front and half-way between Nos. 1 and 2 stockades; from this point an excellent view of the country between us and Soochow was obtainable. Whilst examining the country from this "lookout" with our glasses we noticed that our appearance, I suppose our red coats were the attraction, had drawn a party of rebels to a certain point on the walls where a gun captured by them from Major Holland, R.M.L.I.—who for a little time had the command of the disciplined Chinese force prior to Major Gordon's taking it—was known to be in position. This gun we could plainly see they were loading, doubtless for our behoof. We came down from this "lookout" in time to hear and feel the whiz of the shot, which struck about 70 yards in our rear, killing a couple of Chinese soldiers who were prowling about. Some two or three days after Gordon attacked these stockades and was repulsed with slight loss. He then determined to try and get possession of them by a night attack on the following night. To distinguish friend from foe his force were to wear a band of calico round the neck. By 11 P.M. the troops told off were embarked in large cargo boats, very similar to the barges in use on our canals, and in good spirits. The orders were that the steamer *Hyson*, which was fitted up as a gun-

boat, should go first, and at a preconcerted signal bombard Nos. 1 and 2 stockades; the cargo boats were to drop quietly down till they were about 200 yards from No. 3 stockade, disembark the troops, who were to advance quietly to within 100 yards or so and wait for the signal, and then rush the place, bringing their right shoulders well up. Should the attack be successful, of which there were doubts, as this was the first and last time that Gordon tried his troops by night, these boats were to move higher up the water-way to allow the boats with reinforcements to come on. The night was most favourable to the success of the enterprise, being very dark.

The attacking party landed, and with supports well up rushed for No. 3 stockade at the signal. When within 70 to 80 yards the rebels opened a tremendous fire. The officers led their men most gallantly, but little did they or any one know of the pitfall in front of them. The rebels had filled the ditch which invariably surrounded their stockades with water (a most unusual proceeding) by tapping the river bank. Into this death trap the leading column fell by the score. A panic ensued; those not in the water fell back only to meet the advancing supports; the leading boats instead of remaining where they were tried to retreat; they met and fouled the boats coming up, and the water-way became blocked. The rebels took advantage of the confusion and fired into "the crown" of the

troops, who could not be got to rally—for some four or five minutes the bullets fell like hail among them,—and then retreated. The loss was heavy. Seven officers killed and drowned in leading the assault, several severely wounded, and the rank and file got heavily punished. Fortunately the rebels remained in this stockade; had they attacked, the state of affairs would have been very serious. Gordon was in the thick of the *melée* and escaped unhurt, he was doing all he could to clear his retreat and the boats out of the confusion they were in. His staff, who ably supported him in these efforts, were equally fortunate. One of them had a marvellous escape, the button on his forage cap having been shot off and the skirt of his coat cut away. Two days later Gordon made a reconnaissance of the left bank. This the rebels decidedly objected to, coming out in force from the city to oppose. Gordon withdrew after reconnoitring in rear of Nos. 3 and 4 stockades; the skirmishers were under fire for a little while; they fell back as soon as the light field-guns dragged by the artillery which accompanied were in safety. Strange to say no rebels appeared from either Nos. 3 or 4 stockades to oppose, which gave rise to the opinion that the rebels had evacuated them and retired into the city; one very important fact was gathered from this reconnaissance, viz. that the *Hyson* had done such good service in the night attack that the rebels had cleared out of Nos. 1 and 2 stockades.

The following day at about 6 A.M. Gordon again assaulted No. 3 stockade, detaching a regiment to hold in check any resistance that No. 4 stockade might give, this time with success. The rebels again fought with desperate courage; ere they could be induced to quit, a part of the ditch was filled in, two light guns dragged across into the stockade, and several rounds fired point blank into them. The rebels in No. 4 stockade, when they saw that they were isolated, cleared out, and retreated to the city. On going over these four stockades later in the day one saw that No. 3 was the key to the whole position, and that was the reason for Gordon hammering away at it so persistently.

With these stockades in possession Soochow was completely invested, whether they would capitulate or fight it out to the bitter end was the question.

We returned to Quinsan the evening of the successful attack. The drill and administration of the battalion kept both of us pretty well tied to that place until we learnt that everything was ready or nearly so to assault Soochow.

C—— and self left Quinsan the day before Soochow was to be assaulted, and arrived at Gordon's position about noon. With him we went round the whole line of attack, visited the breaching batteries, saw the pontoons and scaling ladders all handy for the following day. It was an anxious time for Gordon,

as there were strong rumours that owing to dissensions in the beleaguered city there was a possibility of its surrendering.

Soochow had surrendered!!

At this lapse of time dates I cannot give, but early on the following day we, *i.e.* British officers, accompanied Gordon into Soochow, where he was going to have an interview with the rebel Wongs. The city was quite quiet; it had a deserted look; not a soul in the streets; shops all shut. On arriving at the courtyard of the Yâmen, situated about half-a-mile from the west gate of Soochow, in which the Wongs were, we found a considerable body of rebels, also a number of very good-looking Chinese ponies ready saddled; we passed through them to the Yâmen, and in a large hall, with their heads newly shaved in token of submission and dressed in valuable furs, it being winter time and very cold, were a number, say twenty, of very distinguished soldierly-looking men. These were the late rebel Wongs or chiefs in Soochow. The interview did not last very long; its purport I do not know beyond that Gordon strongly impressed on them the advisability of entire submission. We and they left the Yâmen at the same time, we to have a look at the city, they to go to the Imperial Chinese headquarters and make their submission to the Futai of the province, one Li Hung Chang. Again were we much struck with the martial appearance of these Wongs as they mounted their ponies and rode off as it turned out to

their death, they being all decapitated that afternoon in the audience tent of the Futai.

A day or so after the occurrence I was told that the reason the Futai caused these rebel leaders to be decapitated was, that at the audience the question arose as regards the immediate disposition and disbandment of the large rebel force in the city, for naturally their presence would if left there be a standing menace to the newly-restored Imperial authority. One of the leading Wongs, and backed up by some of the others, proposed that as the city had surrendered, the rebel troops, who in point of numbers were stronger than the Imperial Chinese troops, should remain where they were; they would "Balbus-like" build a wall dividing the city into two parts, they retiring to one side where they would rule, and the Imperial authority on the other; which side they retired to was quite immaterial to them.

Pretty cool terms, if correct, to be proposed by the representatives of a surrendered city. The Futai naturally refused to listen to such a proposal, and withdrew from the audience tent. Then the Chinese Imperial troops outside of the tent, whether by a preconcerted arrangement or not, rushed in and killed the lot.

In the course of my wanderings that day in Soochow I found my way by chance into what had been the Yâmen of the Moh Wong, and lately the head rebel

chief in Soochow. The sight I saw there will always be remembered by me. Picture to yourselves a large hall with a dark-vaulted high wood roof, against the walls a number of gigantic but much disfigured Chinese deities, a table capable of holding about 150 guests, strewn with the *débris* of a feast, the air redolent with the sickly perfume of a kind of small water-lilies very much withered placed in masses on the table, chairs and stools upset, candlesticks with the candles burnt out, and a deathlike silence and gloom. Half-way down this room was the bulky headless body of a man dressed in gorgeously embroidered silk robes. The outside robe, which was a magnificent specimen of embroidery, I determined to have, stiff as it was with gore, and was proceeding to take it off when Gordon walked in. I had felt something hard in the breast pocket of one of the under garments, put my hand in and drew out a packet of letters in Gordon's handwriting, which turned out to be letters written by him to the Moh Wong relative to the surrender of the city, and guaranteeing if they did so the security of the lives and properties of the inhabitants. We concluded the body we saw must under the circumstances be that of the Moh Wong. Gordon, who was much moved by the incident, remained by the body. I went and brought in a few soldiers, by them it was taken away, washed, dressed, and then decently buried in his robes.

The death of this rebel chief was tragic in

the extreme. He was one of the few who would not agree to a surrender. On the evening of the night that that occurred he gave a big feast, to which all the rebel chiefs were invited. After the feast he was sitting at the upper end of the table in a chair on a raised dais; he got up and made a speech, and in strong terms upbraided those who were for surrender with their treachery, mentioning them by name, and extolled those who remained faithful to the cause in the same way. Either one of the dissentient Wongs or one of his followers had in the meanwhile stolen up behind the Moh Wong and stabbed him in the back; he fell on to the table; a scene of confusion arose; they dragged him from the table, cut off his head, and as I related sent it to General Ching, who brought it into Gordon's encampment.

The night of that eventful day and the following early morning it was simply impossible to get any sleep, owing to the disturbances that were going on in the river that led to the west gate of Soochow, caused by Chinese gunboats passing up colliding with other boats, shouts, screams, cries, and general din. About 5 A.M. C—— and self received a message to go to Gordon's boat at once; we did so, and learnt he had left and gone in the direction of the west gate of Soochow; we went there and found him alone standing on the wood bridge,

sword drawn and beating with the flat of it and driving back all Imperial Chinese soldiers who attempted to pass. He told us to go with all haste to a certain Yâmen in the city where the wives, concubines, and children of the decapitated Wongs with a crowd of others had taken refuge. We were in total ignorance of the massacre of the previous day; what a contrast we saw on entering the city; the streets were inches deep with clothing, shops broken into and looted, many houses on fire, very many dead bodies of rebels, all ages and sexes, some of them half roasted, and numerous pigs feeding on them. Women and children running about the streets, screaming with terror, pursued by straggling parties of Imperial Chinese troops maddened with lust and excitement, besmirched with blood, who were entering and looting the shops, cutting down with their sharp bill-hooked-shaped knife every one who came in their way irrespective of age or sex, and firing at random at locked doors and closed windows.

C—— and self were shortly joined by B——, the Provost-Marshal, and K——, Gordon's Adjutant-General, some two or three interpreters, and a few of the disciplined force, the main body being then on their way back to Quinsan. K—— brought with him what was called a Loom-chee. Now to explain the meaning and purport of this as cursorily as possible. It represented an Imperial

warrant, authorising the holder of it to call upon the nearest military authority to send him assistance should he require it; on receipt of this warrant the receiver was bound to send troops to the extent of the number printed on the warrant, which varied in numbers. In appearance it was a large arrow, at the head was rolled a small banner of yellow silk, the Imperial colour, and printed on it in Chinese character and officially stamped was the number of men that could be demanded. Over all to protect it was a sort of oilskin cover painted dark green, with the device of the Imperial Chinese dragon longitudinally. As far as I remember about eight of these Loom-chees stood in a kind of frame at the entrance of Gordon's boat. We found our way to the Yâmen, which was about half-a-mile off; it was then pretty full of rebels of all sexes and ages, and all in a dreadful state of fear and distress. The Yâmen was surrounded by a large courtyard, with two heavy wood gates, the upper part barred at the bottom end, through which there had been evidently a right of way; these we closed, opening them occasionally to let in other refugees and deprive of their arms, give a sound kicking, and turn adrift to shift as they best could any Imperial Chinese soldiers who appeared at the gates. They were not a few. Time wore on, the firing in the streets increased, and more Chinese soldiers appeared on the scene than we could deal with as before. It was decided to close the gates, and that K—— should

go and try and find Gordon and get orders from him. Some four or five hours passed, K—— did not return, the aspect of affairs was black, so B—— was sent on the errand; he did not return; the afternoon drew on, both C—— and self felt that unless we got assistance it would be futile to attempt to convoy the refugees out, as bodies of Imperial troops were coming up and yelling at the gates. Our red coats had, I think, some influence on them. C—— and self tossed up who was to go and get assistance; he won the toss, and started, handing to me the Loom-chee as a sign of Imperial authority—it might possibly act as a deterrent on the Chinese troops.

I waited until dusk, and then made up my mind to make an attempt to clear out and convoy under the authority of this Loom-chee the refugees in the Yâmen. Two or three minutes showed me the impracticability, with the few men I had at my disposal, of doing this, hampered with the refugees, who were helpless and terror-stricken, and in addition were the Imperial troops, who would certainly interfere, so I retired back to the Yâmen.

Amongst the refugees there was a man who appeared to have been "one in authority"; to him, with the assistance of an interpreter, I told my difficulty, also that I would go and bring assistance in a short time. He and the other refugees made a great outcry and begged me to stay; I left, and left the precious but useless Loom-chee. On

arrival at Gordon's boat I learnt that when we left him on the bridge in the morning he and an interpreter had gone somewhere in a boat, had been taken prisoner in mistake for one of the European leaders who had joined the rebels, by General Ching's soldiers, and both had had a very narrow escape of their lives, and had just returned. Gordon had evidently been looking at the rack where the Loom-chee stood and missed one, and inquired for it. I told him. His reply was, "Go and bring it back at once." At this juncture C—— turned up with about half a company of disciplined Chinese; together we returned and convoyed the whole lot out in safety, with some difficulty, as we not only had to keep the poor terrified wretches close up, but also to watch very closely to prevent the Chinese Imperial soldiers from molesting them.

Gordon's ire, grief, and chagrin at the treachery and broken faith exhibited towards the Wongs—they having by him been promised their lives, and further, the lives and property of all in the city guaranteed—no one but himself could or ever will fathom. He was beside himself. At one time he proposed to restore the city by force to the rebels, to give General Ching and his troops a proper thrashing, to throw up the Imperial cause, and join the rebels with his force, which fortunately were out of reach of any momentary impulsiveness. Better counsels prevailed, and he retired to Quinsan, humiliated, heart-broken, and ready to annihilate General

Ching, the Futai, in fact any Chinese official whom he suspected of having a hand in the decapitation of the Wongs and massacre at Soochow. General Ching very wisely cleared out when he became acquainted with Gordon's feelings towards him.

I went to see Gordon some four or five days after his arrival in Quinsan, and found him in a truly sorrowful state; he could not speak from emotion, his eyes were full of tears, he did nothing but walk about the room in a distracted manner.

In the same room was a good-looking Chinese lad of sixteen or seventeen years of age, the son of one of these unfortunate Wongs, whom he told me he had adopted. What became of him I do not remember.

For some two or three months after the fall of Soochow Gordon remained at Quinsan. He declined further active operations until his honour and character had been completely exonerated of complicity in or knowledge of the Soochow massacre. The whole matter was referred to Pekin, and through the instrumentality of our ambassador there, the late Sir Frederick Bruce, satisfactory explanations were made, a proclamation from the Emperor of China issued stating that Gordon had had no hand, part, or knowledge in what had occurred at Soochow. He then once more resumed active operations, and was most successful, many towns surrendering,

some doing so after offering slight opposition, others fighting hard to the last. Amongst these was one called Kintang, situated to the south and east of Chan-chow-foo, which was about twenty miles away. The approach to it was by a network of small but navigable creeks.

Up to this time Gordon bore a charmed life, although he exposed himself most fearlessly; it appeared as if "the bullet that was to be billet was not cast."

The early morn of the day that he intended to assault Kintang, which he had breached, turned out to be gloomy, cold, and wet. The troops had been very busy offering sacrifices of gold, silver, and various coloured tissue papers to their gods. By what process they arrived at the decision of these gods—viz. "that they were unpropitious to the success of the day's undertaking"—I failed to learn.

The breach in the wall was a small one, and consequently the ascent to it was rather steep; at the base was a foul, stagnant ditch, certainly not more than eight feet wide and not very deep. The advance to the assault was up a paved path, one of the public paths leading from a gate to the country. Down this paved way the rebels fired with great precision, and caused heavy losses in the assaulting column, who went up gallantly enough to the edge of the ditch; there they stopped, electing to be shot down rather than to jump the ditch and ascend the

breach. Every effort, in which physical force bore a large preponderance, was made to get them to cross without any effect. Gordon directed his aide-de-camp, B——, a brother of the general officer commanding Her Majesty's troops in China, and another officer to take his two flags, on which were emblazoned in Chinese character the record of his successes, and cross the ditch, in the belief that the troops would be stimulated by the sight of them and follow. They crossed; B—— received a severe wound in the back and his companion got a severe blow on the head; both did their utmost to get the troops to cross the ditch, but they had considerable difficulty in making them do it.

At this juncture Gordon was wounded. He was promptly carried to his boat and the bullet extracted. It was only on the assurance that the troops should be withdrawn as soon as the heavy guns, stores, etc. etc., were re-embarked that he could be induced to remain there, and even then his anxiety for the safety of the troops caused him to send perpetual orders and inquiries, which rather hampered the temporary commander. The guns, etc., being embarked, the troops were withdrawn and the retreat commenced, Gordon in his boat with a strong escort being the first to leave—a necessary precaution, as the rebels in this district had offered a very large reward for his head. With the healthy life Gordon led the wound rapidly healed, and in a short time he was at the head of his force. The retreat continued

till about 10 P.M., when a halt was made. The rebel force at Chan-chow-foo, about twenty miles off, hearing of our repulse and retreat, made a rapid flank march. About 3 A.M. they passed through our advanced sentries and pickets and set a light to the tents of one of the regiments ere they were discovered. For about ten minutes there was a scene of wild confusion and brisk fighting; then they retreated with considerable losses on both sides. The retreat was continued at about 6 A.M., and continued till mid-day without further molestation. The temporary commanding officer did not think it advisable to stay and hold his ground, as it was most important to get Gordon to a place of safety, where he could have perfect rest. Gordon did not try conclusions again with Kintang. He proceeded, when recovered, to attack Chan-chow-foo, the most distant city now held by the rebels in the Kiang-su province, knowing by this move that Kintang would be isolated, and with Chan-chow-foo in his possession it would merely be a question of days or hours possibly ere they must surrender. Later events showed how correct he was in the tactics adopted.

In due course Gordon arrived at Chan-chow-foo, about half-a-mile from the Grand Canal. His first attack on it proved unsuccessful, and the loss of life amongst the officers very heavy, but for all that, so great was their confidence and esteem for him that one hour after the repelled attack the remnant

came and asked permission as a body to make another assault, in which they felt they would succeed. Gordon would not accept this generous offer, much as he appreciated it, but determined to push his parallels closer to the town and thus avoid exposing his troops so much to fire when they left them as they had been at the previous attack. Like most Chinese cities, Chan-chow-foo had a stream running round its walls, and it became necessary to make a bridge for the troops to cross on when the city was to be reassaulted.

A barrel bridge was constructed; the dimensions I forget, but it was a cumbrous mass to lift, carry out, and lay. To get it into position it was determined to cut through a large piece of the advanced parallel, and to one T——, a plucky ex-English officer, was assigned the task of laying it before 12 P.M. of the day previous to the next assault. It was a lovely starlight night, but cold. I was with Gordon in the advance parallel, a good bit away from the place where the bridge lay, smoking and talking. On our side the heavy guns were firing a round about every five minutes, and the musketry fire slack. From the city there was no reply. Time wore on, and Gordon got fidgety, looking at his watch, etc. etc. I went off to see how T—— was progressing, and found him after a little while, told him that Gordon was getting anxious, and inquired when he thought he would be able to lay the bridge. He replied, "The working party, 800 strong, had had

the bridge on their shoulders to place it in position, but owing to some miscalculation the passage for its exit was not large enough, and he was hard at work making it larger; also that the bridge would require looking to ere it was laid, as it had wrung a good deal in lifting up and putting down." I returned to Gordon, who impatiently asked, "What is T—— about?" I told him. He replied, "Go and tell T—— if the bridge is not laid in two hours I will make him lay it by daylight." I returned and gave T—— Gordon's message. Within the extra time granted the bridge was lifted on to the shoulders of the working party, carried out and laid without any casualty. The only detail neglected was to drive a second picket post in on the farther side and fasten to it a rope attached to the bridge, to prevent its swinging with the stream. This omitted detail fortunately only caused a few duckings to the troops when crossing to assault the following day.

Up to this time the rebels had been very quiet, but, as will be seen, were evidently on the alert and in force, for directly this huge mass appeared in the open they opened a heavy fire, just as if hell had suddenly burst up; in addition, flaming stink-pots, fire-balls, rockets, were thrown—in fact, everything that they could to light up the scene. Chan-chow-foo since the last attack had now a second breach. It was decided that the Imperial Chinese troops, under General Ching, should assault on the right, Gordon's force on the left, and a combined attack

was fixed for the following day at noon. At about 9 A.M. the rebels tried to make a sortie, and were very soon driven back. It was a great contrast to observe the way in which the Imperial Chinese troops under Ching assembled for the assault. They turned out without any formation, some 3000 or 4000 men, with dozens of large flags of brilliant hue flying, horns braying, gongs clashing. The scene called to my memory an old scriptural picture I had in my childhood, viz. the capture of Jericho by the Israelites; here, in vivid colours and with living figures, was the whole scene reproduced. Gordon's force paraded quietly in a depression of the ground immediately in front of their breach in three columns. About 11.45 A.M. our side opened a heavy fire with grape and shrapnel, enfilading the walls, and the gunboat *Hyson* shelled the town. Some light field-guns were also brought up for service should the attack be successful. The signal for assault was given. The first column, under Colonel T——, who had been a private soldier in my regiment, had moved close up, dashed over the parapet, down the slope to the river, crossed the bridge, and made for the breach. The rebels turned up in great force. The breach fairly bristled with spears. Small bags of gunpowder of about 1 lb. each, with a lighted fuse attached, were thrown into their faces, rockets discharged, and fire-balls and flaming stink-pots flung. After the laying of the bridge the previous night the rebels had thrown a number of

beams of wood studded with nails in all directions upon the face of the breach, which materially added to the difficulties of the assault. In spite of these impediments the first column advanced well, and appeared half-way up, when, as if by magic, they all came down just as if a rope had been passed round them and the ends pulled suddenly in the direction they came from, sweeping them off their legs. I was to go with the second column, which by this time had moved close up, and was talking to Gordon, who was in the advance parallel smoking vigorously and occasionally taking a rifle out of the hands of his bodyguard and firing at some rebel who was making himself too conspicuous. Gordon saw the waver, turned to me and said shortly, "Now S——, go on; you're late; good-bye." A shake of the hand, and over the second column streamed. The first now reinforced rallied quickly, and together the two columns went up and over. Chan-chow-foo was ours. At the moment of gaining a foothold inside the city wall I glanced to my right, and saw that Ching's troops had carried their breach, pouring over the wall, spreading themselves over a large plain, made for the city; our light guns were dragged across, got into position, and fired into the flying rebels.

The city was given up to loot, as they had refused to capitulate. In addition, as we were fighting in conjunction with Imperial Chinese troops whose custom it was to loot on capturing a rebel city, it was feared

that there would be a repetition of the Soochow business if any sort of stipulation as regards the safety and protection of life and property were made.

There was a report that a large amount of treasure was buried in a certain part of the city; some attempt was made to find it, but unsuccessful.

The few hours I spent in the town I saw several horrible cases of disgraceful mutilation of men, women, and children by the Imperialists. The wretched inhabitants streamed out of the city, giving the Imperialist camps a wide berth, into our lines. All appeared in a miserable state of want and starvation. On my return I passed the place where the heavy guns had now been packed. A large crowd of refugees had assembled there. Orders were given for them to be turned away in case of their doing any damage intentional or otherwise to them. Amongst this crowd one of the artillery officers recognised a rebel who had been a servant to his brother, and whom he alleged this man had murdered. He drew his revolver, pointed it at the poor wretch's head, who by this time had stood up. At his back was a heavy gun. Three times did that revolver miss fire, but he never flinched. The fourth shot exploded. For a few seconds the body was erect and rigid, then it gradually fell back a corpse. The only heavy gun I saw in Chan-chow-foo was an old sixty-four-pounder loaded with nails and scraps of iron, laid to sweep the point we attacked. Fortunately it could not be discharged, otherwise the

chances were that it would have been as deadly for friend as for foe. Our losses were not very severe, but the rebels lost heavily. A good deal of wholesale slaughter by the Imperial troops went on for some days after the capture of the city; restoring the Imperial authority with *éclât*, I imagine, must have been the reason. I have dwelt rather at length on the siege and capture of this city; it was a great epoch in the rebellion. With its capture the rebels' last stronghold (with the exception of Kintang, which surrendered two days later) in the province of Kiang-su was taken, their power gone, their leaders dead. Gordon's promise to clear out the rebels within a definite time fulfilled, and the last shot in anger by the Ever Victorious Army fired.

The next three or four days all were hard at work reshipping war material, etc. etc. This done, orders were given to Gordon's force to concentrate once more at Quinsan. They made their way there as it pleased them best. Gordon left on the fifth day, and on his arrival at Quinsan began to make arrangements to disband the force and reconstitute it to a certain degree.

II

DURING the active operations against the rebels which resulted in the province of Kiang-su being wrested from them, there had been constant and severe fighting. The rebels, as a rule, fought most gallantly, and the general opinion was that "given the same advantages in arms, ammunition, etc. etc., as the disciplined force had had," the tables would have been turned, or at all events the fighting and results would not have been so one-sided. The casualties amongst the officers of the force were very heavy, and from time to time those killed and wounded had to be replaced. Very few people, I think, know the heterogeneous class these officers were derived from. A queer lot to have to deal with, but all had the one thing needful, pluck, and all, as a rule, fought most gallantly.

In addition, there were some three or four English officers belonging to regiments in the Chinese command who acted as a sort of personal staff to Gordon. The artillery and the five regiments of disciplined Chinese which constituted his whole force, and in number never exceeded five

thousand of all ranks, were officered on the same principle as English regiments are supposed to be but never are, viz. a captain and two subalterns with three field officers. Their pay was very good: colonels, $300; majors, $250; captains, $200; and subalterns from $150 to $100 a month. This pay and that of the rank and file was paid regularly at the end of every month. It will be seen how very necessary it was, considering the class that these officers were drawn from and their antecedents, that a very strict discipline had to be maintained amongst them, whose sins mostly consisted in quarrelling amongst themselves, gambling, and drunkenness if they could get hold of any liquor. Liquor in any shape was forbidden in their camps; if they got any and were found out, speedy and sure was their punishment—discharged at once. A piece of paper torn out of a pocket-book addressed to the paymaster at the base, stating the reason of dismissal, the date to which pay was to be issued, never exceeding two days' grace, would be given to the offender, who would be told to clear out in two hours, and the provost-marshal B——, an old boatswain of H.M. navy, directed to expedite his movements. In some cases these beauties went over to the rebel side, who were only too glad to have European assistance. Immediate dismissal was the only punishment awarded for all offences, but Gordon alone had this power, and I do not think that he found it necessary to exercise it except in a very few cases.

During the whole time I was with Gordon I never heard of a written order or saw a piece of blue official paper used. If a commanding officer required fresh arms, accoutrements, blankets, clothing, or ammunition, to replace those lost and damaged in action or worn out, he would put his requirements on a piece of paper torn out of his pocket-book (woe betided him who had not his pocket-book about him, for Gordon was always borrowing a leaf of one), get Gordon to put his name to this very informal indent, and then send this paper and some men to the storekeeper at the base, who would without further delay comply with the requisition and issue. The storekeeper would place this piece of paper on a file, and there was his authority to issue and receipt for the same. How our military storekeepers would groan, tear their hair, and declare the service had gone to Hades were such a simple plan adopted by our red-taped, bound, and tied army. With them there would be Boards, Courts of Inquiry to be approved or otherwise innumerable, the lost or damaged articles required to be produced, sheaves of letters written on the subject, indents and receipts in triplicate or quadruplicate made out and exchanged, and finally, after a very long delay, the applicant might think himself really very fortunate if he got just half of his requirements. Military men, I think, will admit that such a thing as red tape did not exist in "The Ever Victorious," and that its total absence was in no ways detri-

mental to its well-being and success, also that Gordon managed these matters in a simple business-like way.

Gordon's activity, zeal, and energy were wonderful, for work he was a perfect glutton; dilatoriness and delay in carrying out orders he could not brook. I remember one case in special. He was attacking Soon-kiong, and directed his orderly officer F—— to take some message to a position on the farther side of the water ditch that surrounded that town. F—— was a dandy, and did not care to soil his boots or clothes, and instead of crossing the ditch tried to find a bridge—rather a difficult task, as they were all broken down. How he eventually got across I do not remember, but when he did arrive at his destination he found, to his chagrin, Gordon, who had crossed the ditch and had carried out the purport of his message when he saw his orderly officer's dilatory movements. F—— was told to rejoin his regiment.

On another occasion at Quinsan, during the time of the disbandment of the force, Gordon's boy came to me at 3 A.M. with a message that his master wished to see me. I had had a long and heavy day's work, had only left Gordon some five hours, was very sleepy, so persuaded myself that the matter could not be very urgent as we were not engaged in active operations, and continued my

slumbers. In about an hour Gordon came and had me out sharp, and then proceeded to give me his mind on my idleness and inattention to work.

To his unceasing watchfulness and attention to all details the wonderful successes that attended his force were entirely attributable. For months he rarely took his boots or clothes off at night; he would go to his boat and turn into a couple of blankets sewn up in the form of a sack. If there was a disturbance, or the heavy guns fired more frequently or less than he had directed, or the musketry fire got slack or too rapid, he would be out inquiring into the reason. By day he was everywhere. With all this he invariably looked spruce and tidy, and as smart as if clothes were to be obtained at a few hours' notice.

Looting by "the disciplined force" was not only strongly disapproved of but prohibited, but from the very nature of the force it could not be entirely put a stop to. If any officer was detected, dire was Gordon's wrath and swift the punishment. I remember a case in particular of one high in authority in the force who was found out looting. In a certain city that was captured very large stores of rice were found; what Gordon's intentions were as regards the disposal of it I do not know. The high official thought it would be a pity that this rice should not benefit some one; happy thought, why not begin with himself? so in conjunction with two or three confederates who could

not resist the temptation of making a haul, loaded two or three cargo boats with this rice and made satisfactory arrangements for their passing through the water-gate of the town, where a strong guard was with orders to prevent any boats leaving. Shang-hae was the place where the boats were to take the rice and sell it for the benefit of those concerned. The boats passed out under the nose of the officers and guard—that the former were in "the swim" there could be but little doubt—and had got about a mile or so on their journey when they were met and turned back by the ubiquitous Gordon, who made a few inquiries which led to the prompt dismissal of the "high official."

To his servants, all rebel boys and orphans whom he had taken under his protection, he was most kind. For all he had some absurd pet name; one in particular he called the Shur Wong, after one of the Wongs—Shur is the name for a snake, I think. How this lad hated the name and vehemently repudiated it I well remember.

With the capture of Chan-chow-foo and the surrender of Kintang some forty-eight hours after, the province of Kiang-su was cleared of rebels and once again under Chinese imperial rule. There was no further need of the services of "The Ever Victorious," the cost of which was heavy. Officers and rank and file were disbanded, and then reconstituted

on an entirely new base. The services of the rank and file of the artillery were retained, also a considerable nucleus of the infantry. Chests of money arrived to pay off all liabilities, and I must say that the Chinese Treasury were most liberal to their late servants, some who had distinguished themselves and been wounded getting as much as $4500. No officer received a less sum than $500. The rank and file received a month's pay.

The English officers—*i.e.* those holding Her Majesty's commission—did not receive any gratuity; they had the honour and glory, and later received from the Chinese Government through Gordon a gold medal, with the button of their rank inserted in the centre, in recognition of their services. Owing to some informality in the transmission of these medals—I believe they were not sent through the Foreign Office, but to Gordon direct for distribution—no English officer has received permission to wear the medal. Whilst on the subject of money I must relate that when Soochow was captured the Imperial Chinese Government at Pekin sent Gordon a money present of $10,000—possibly they thought it would act as a salve for the fiasco there. This he indignantly refused, and returned the chests in which the money arrived promptly with a very curt message. The Chinese authorities could not understand such a proceeding; here was a man who would not take a money reward. To them it was inexplicable. Does this not show what a strict integrity, honesty

of purpose, and high-mindedness and disregard for wealth pervaded all his actions?

He told me that instead of saving money he had spent all he had ever received from them and some private means in addition; the sum I remember, but will not mention. The actual sum that the Chinese Imperial Government gave monthly to Gordon for his valuable services was £100 a month; more he would not accept. He stipulated that his monthly expenses should not exceed $150. The balance and all that he could borrow he would then take to the field hospital and lavishly distribute among the sick and wounded Chinese of the force whom he had noticed as having distinguished themselves. No eulogies are sufficient or requisite to express such noble disinterested conduct. I should add that the field hospital was under the charge of Dr. Moffitt, since dead, who married one of Gordon's sisters. He appeared to be imbued with the same spirit as his future brother-in-law; he was a clever Chinese scholar and A1 surgeon.

The disbandment of "The Ever Victorious," the selection of a place where the new force could be located, and perfecting the arrangements for their reorganisation, took some time. Fung-when-shan, a secluded place to the south of Soochow and about forty miles from Shang-hae, was the site selected. Thither I moved with the first detachment of troops,

about 800 strong, lately rebels, who had surrendered at Leyang and now had transferred their allegiance; they were a very fine body of men, who thoroughly appreciated the advantages of regular pay, good treatment, and smart clothing. Later on more troops joined, also the artillery of "The Ever Victorious," whose services it had been deemed expedient to retain—altogether to the extent of about 2500 men.

For the future the force was only to be superintended by British and ex-British officers; drilling in the English language, as formerly, to cease and their own substituted. The English Drill Book, after being considerably modified, was translated into Chinese; the executive words of command in English character, with their proper Chinese pronunciation accentuated, printed. The interior economy of the different regiments or stockades, as they were now called, was for the future to be administered by a military mandarin of equal rank to the British officer in command of the stockade, and act as his coadjutor. A Chinese captain with two subalterns were appointed to each company of about 100 in strength, and the strength of each stockade was laid down at 800 rank and file.

In addition to being responsible for the drill, regular attendance on parade, the proper care and cleanliness of the arms, accoutrements, and clothing of their respective stockades, the English officers were responsible that their stockades were properly

and regularly paid once a month, and that their military Chinese coadjutor did not withhold any of it from their subordinates for their own use—squeezing it was called—but with all the precautions taken it was done. I have been present at the payment and seen every man get his due; that over, the captains of companies would bring to the mandarin a sum of money they had squeezed from their subordinates, the amount being generally about $50 or £10 per company. To put a stop to it was impossible, for the most ingenious lies would be told to account for the payment of this money. I could only salve my conscience that, as far as it lay in my power, each individual had received their just due, and that if they elected to be squeezed—well, it was no business of mine; they could complain if they chose. Remonstrance with my military coadjutor was futile; he of course backed up his subordinates' lies, so ingrained is the habit of squeezing amongst Chinamen.

To sum up, Fung-when-shan was to be the Aldershot of China; imperial Chinese troops were to be brought there from time to time, placed under British tuition and discipline, and then drafted for fresh troops to go through the same instruction. I should add it was hoped that the sons of Chinese gentlemen would join the new force as officers, the general position of the officers of the Chinese imperial troops being very low; and on all was impressed that the methods adopted in "The Ever

Victorious" to keep up discipline were to cease, and for the future, as far as we were concerned, it was to be the *suaviter in modo*, the *fortiter in re* being left to our Chinese military coadjutor.

The evening of my arrival at Fung-when-shan a body of 200 men raised in Shang-hae, and trained ostensibly as artillery, joined the camp under the charge of a bombardier of the Royal Artillery; these men were all dressed in the uniform of the Royal Artillery, had a very high opinion of themselves, were idle, and preferred the *dolce far niente* of their old life to what was in prospect at the camp. The real fact being that their late commanding officer had spoilt them, treated them as children, and let them do pretty much as they liked. Work was begun the following day; stockades had to be made, boat-loads of shot, shell, and powder to be unladen and put into security, and ground to be cleared—a busy time for all. These particular men worked well for a time in spite of the heat, which was intense; they then announced their intention of leaving off work for the day. This was about 4 P.M., and I could not allow it, as we were unloading gun-powder, and into a place of safety that powder would have to be ere work ceased for the day; and as they refused to work, although I told them what would happen if they refused, I had half-a-dozen of the ringleaders flogged as a warning. Gordon then appeared on the scene, and I explained the case to him. He saw the urgency of the case; further, that

discipline must be asserted. He directed them to go on working, and told them that he would flog them if they did not. They persisted in not working, and accordingly two of them were flogged.

The camp had been formed about three months; it was drill all day and every day; no one had a sinecure. At first the process of drilling in Chinese was slow and trying. I will relate what would occur. The English officer would come on to parade with his interpreter, to him in English he would explain the movement he wanted done. The interpreter in turn would explain it in Chinese to the parade, the English officer would then give the executive word of command in Anglicised Chinese, with a ludicrous want of pronunciation and accent, this would cause a titter, for no one understood it and no one would move, and so the parade would go on at times, *ad nauseam*, but with practice our pronunciation improved, and the troops got to drill fairly well.

The monotony of camp life rather palled on us all, especially Gordon, whose active spirit could not bear this life of inactivity. To change it he made up his mind to correct and complete the ordnance survey on which he had been employed previous to his taking command of "The Ever Victorious." This would embrace his going over the whole of the ground of his operations from the capture of

Soochow. He asked me to be his *compagnon de voyage*—an invitation I jumped at. Together we visited the towns captured by or surrendered to him, all of which bore the look as if the hand of war had pressed heavily on them; in some, those captured, the breaches in the wall had not even been filled in, the inhabitants bore a starved and emaciated appearance, every thing and person looked the picture of neglect and misery. We passed through the once wealthy and prosperous silk-growing district of the Kiang-su province, ruined and almost deserted, the few families left being in a great state of destitution. The mulberry trees, their great staple of wealth, and of which there were many acres, had been cut down (the stumps of them alone remaining in the ground) to form "abattis" around the rebel defences, and most formidable abattis they made. On our approaching one town, its name I forget, our boats were fired on from the walls. I was in Gordon's boat taking angles with a prismatic compass, calling them out to Gordon who was inside blotting them off on the map. I did not relish being potted at in this way with no chance of returning it, and got uneasy. Gordon chaffed me on the state of my nerves, stopped the work we were engaged in, gave orders for his flags to be hoisted on his boat, and then made direct for the west water-gate of the city. The firing ceased when they knew who the distinguished visitor was. On arrival we walked into the town

unmolested, stayed there some six hours, going over the city and walls, and started afresh, making a complete circuit of the town by its water-way. A detour was made to enable Gordon to pay Monsieur Gigual a visit. This intelligent and enterprising officer commanded a force of disciplined Chinese, who were employed in a very half-hearted way in clearing the adjacent province of Ngan-wai of the rebels. Monsieur Gigual and his officers paid every honour in their power to Gordon, and gave us a dinner and champagne—the latter an unknown and unheard-of luxury to us for many months,—and were most anxious for him to prolong his visit and give them his advice. But Gordon had other work to do, viz. complete his survey; in addition, arrangements had to be made for a forthcoming important ceremony, so we left them, and in process of time returned to Fung-when-shan after a very pleasant trip of five weeks.

The Emperor of China had granted to Gordon for his eminent services the distinguished order of "The Yellow Jacket." The number of the recipients of this order is, I believe, limited to twelve, and these twelve constitute His Imperial Majesty's body-guard. Gordon had received during our absence from the camp of instruction a notification that the distinguished Chinese officials who were deputed to invest him with his order had arrived from Pekin,

and were awaiting his pleasure to settle when the ceremony of investiture should take place. A very large force of Imperial Chinese troops arrived and stockaded themselves about three miles from us, gunboats conveying and escorting the Chinese dignitaries arrived, and an enormous amount of gunpowder was burnt in the way of salutes to them. It was decided that the ceremony should take place at the camp of instruction, and two very large marquee tents were pitched for the ceremony. The day arrived. All the Chinese officials wore their gorgeous robes. The air smelt of the villainous powder that they burnt in the countless salutes and crackers let off to do honour to the occasion, and countless banners and flags of all hues were flying. Altogether it was a very bright and animated scene. For some two or three hours Gordon did nothing but put on one suit of clothes, take them off and put on another, and to onlookers it became rather monotonous. The donning of the yellow jacket with all its paraphernalia was the climax of this interesting scene. More guns fired, crackers fizzed and burst, gongs were clashed, and huge brass horns brayed. The Chinese officials went down on their knees and appeared as if seized with a sudden desire to find out which was the softer, their heads or the ground. After trying conclusions with the ground three times all got up, looking very solemn, bewildered, and marching about the place with spectacles and hats in very dissipated positions on their faces and heads, and garments

very much disarranged. All the time that this investiture was going on Gordon's face bore a sort of half-amused, half-satirical smile, and though he hated the whole ceremony and fuss, still, he entered into the whole affair with interest, asked about the various garments, and made comical allusions to his appearance in them. Altogether the ceremony lasted close on five hours. This over, the Chinese dignitaries left in the same ostentatious and noisy way as they had arrived.

The paraphernalia connected with the order of the yellow jacket is very considerable, and the outfit must have cost a very large sum of money, as it comprises silk dresses, robes, jackets, hats, caps, boots, shoes, fans, girdles, thumb rings of jade, and necklaces for all seasons and occasions. The outfit sent down by the Emperor was in fair-sized wood boxes covered with white parchment, and the device of the Imperial dragon in red painted on them. Each box contained a complete suit appertaining to the order; how many there were altogether I forget, but there were a great number.

One rather amusing incident occurred just when Gordon donned the yellow jacket, which rather relieved the monotony of the affair to spectators. In one corner of the large marquee a hole had been dug about 2 feet square and 3 feet deep. This we used as our beer and wine cooler. It was generally full of water, and had a few straw envelopes floating about the top to mark the spot. Somehow this hole had

neither been filled in nor covered up for the ceremony. When the Chinese dignitaries went down on their knees it necessitated a backward step on the part of all concerned to get room. Now a rare fat old mandarin was standing next to this hole, and into it he went souse!—robes, spectacles, boots, just as he was preparing to go through the head and earth process. He was close to me, and I exploded, not only at the accident, but at the ludicrous face of terror the old gentleman assumed and the row he made. I verily believe that it was the first bath he had ever had. Gordon looked rather angrily in our direction. When he saw what had happened he could not resist laughing. We pulled the old fellow out, had him rubbed down, gave him some champagne and brandy mixed, some cheroots, and ere long he quite forgot his mishap.

This ceremony over, Gordon began to make arrangements for his return to England. Such a thing as plain clothes he did not possess. His uniform was pretty well worn out, so a suit of "reach-me-downs" and hat were obtained from Shang-hae, No one would guess the process these garments and hat went through ere Gordon would consent to wear them, he having a great dislike to the sheen of new clothes. The hat was concertinaed; it and the clothes were then made into a bundle, tied up with string, attached by a cord to the side of his boat, and flung into the creek. In this way they were towed down till he arrived at Shang-hae, when they

were dried and he wore them. His departure from us took place after dinner one evening. He made no allusion to it, and wished us "Good-bye" just as if it was only for a few days' absence, darted into his boat, and closed the door to avoid all observation. Our resources were small, but all was done that lay in our power to do honour to our departing chief. Our stockades were illuminated with Chinese lanterns. The Imperial Chinese troops lined one side of the river for about a mile and a half, and carried numerous banners, lanterns, and blazing torches. Volleys of shell were fired, thousands of crackers let off, and horns and gongs brayed and clashed as the fast boat in which Gordon always travelled came along decorated with the flags he had so often and so successfully carried into action. It was many years ere I met Gordon again. I do not ever remember knowing before or since a man of such an extraordinary force of character, indomitable will, and great energy—the latter he imbued his companions with—and honesty of heart in all his actions. Without parading it, one could not help seeing and feeling that all his actions were governed by a strong current of religion; and though no doubt his strong will and temper made him do and say things which he afterwards repented, yet the force of circumstances and the peculiar position he was in must be taken into consideration.

With all his love and admiration for the Chinese race, yet he would never allow any insult or affront

offered by them to any Englishman to pass unnoticed. One day duty took me to the town of Soon-kiong, about nine miles away, and had to pass where some freshly arrived Chinese troops were busy stockading themselves. As I rode by several clods of earth were thrown at me; on my return I was assailed again, and by greater numbers, and at last one clod knocked me over. I acquainted Gordon about the treatment I had received. At once he had a letter written to the military mandarin in charge, telling him what had occurred, and ordered him to come to our camp with his officers and apologise, warning him that if his orders were not carried out in twelve hours he would come and knock his stockade about his ears. In case this military mandarin should be recalcitrant, Gordon had a couple of guns with ammunition embarked, and told off a regiment to carry out his orders if neglected; but the military mandarin in charge came up with his officers within the time, and made most humble apologies, offering to behead the offenders if necessary.

On Gordon's departure a new commanding officer was appointed, a major—belonging to one of the English regiments quartered in Shang-hae, a real good officer and gentleman, but not one who was to our minds fitted for this peculiar post. Well do I remember his telling us that as regards this command he had but two lights to go by, viz. the Queen's Regulations and the Drill Book—a piece of information that rather amused us, considering that

heretofore red tapeism and blue officialism were unknown quantities to us. How matters progressed under Major —— I do not know, for very shortly after his assuming the command I was ordered to rejoin my regiment, which was leaving the Chinese command.

It was not until Gordon was making his preparations to go to the White Nile that I heard of or from him, and then in answer to a letter I had written asking him to take me as one of his lieutenants. His reply was that the expedition he was going on would not in any way be like the Chinese one. He neither expected nor wanted any fighting, and that he hoped his mission would be one of peace, etc. etc. I heard nothing more from him until early in 1881, when I received a letter from him written on board a sailing vessel, from the Mauritius *en route* to the Cape of Good Hope, to take up the command of the Colonial forces, which the late Government had pressed on him to assume. He grumbled at the tediousness of the voyage, wrote in a sanguine way of the probabilities of putting an end to the war which was being carried on in a very desultory way between the Cape Colonial forces and the Basuto chief Masupha and the Basuto tribe, and in which the Cape Colonial forces had not so far had the best of it; and inquired what I was doing. I was on the personal staff of

the general officer commanding at the Cape of Good Hope, and considered that if Gordon found he must fight Masupha there might possibly some honour and glory to be got out of it, so wrote and volunteered to serve with him. His reply was to the effect, "that he had seen the Cape Colonial authorities—his course of action was not yet made up, and would not be until he had gone to Basutoland, and until he had done so I was to wait events," which came sooner than any one anticipated.

He proceeded to Basutoland and made arrangements to pay a visit to the old chief Masupha in his stronghold at Thaba Bosigo, a place the Colonial troops could not take. The Colonial War Secretary suggested to Gordon that on his way to Thaba Bosigo he should take advantage of it, and make use of his professional knowledge and find out where and how it would be best to attack the place—a suggestion most righteously declined, also one that an armed demonstration should be made at the time Gordon paid his visit. The Colonial War Secretary acted on his own judgment, and unknown to Gordon, whose life he imperilled by his hot-headedness, sent an armed force. Gordon was at Thaba Bosigo and in negotiations with Masupha for an honourable and amicable settlement of the dispute when the news arrived of this armed demonstration, and of which Gordon disclaimed all knowledge of, and when the chief Masupha told him "that he could kill him if he so elected," he replied, "Do so at once; if you

think you will benefit by it I do not mind." He left Thaba Bosigo at once, telling Masupha that he would never raise his hand against him after he had learnt from him the true reason of the Basuto embroilment, resigned his appointment as commandant of the Colonial forces, and returned to Cape Town to have an interview with the Colonial authorities to explain his reasons for resignation, which they promptly accepted.

To the kindness of my chief, who was aware of the old friendship that existed between us, I was enabled to spend a good deal of the time that elapsed ere Gordon left for England, and many were the strange tales and the scenes he had gone through told by him over our cigarettes.

Of his visit to China when that country was very nearly embroiled in war with Russia he spoke with enthusiasm, and told me with what affection his old soldiers received him, and that all inquired by name of the English officers who had served under him.

The night before Gordon left for England he repeated to me his reasons which led to his resigning the command of the Cape Colonial forces and disagreement with the Cape Ministry, and left me the whole of the correspondence on the subject, with a strict injunction that only a certain few whose names he wrote down were to see it. I told him that I could not accept the commission without the sanction of my chief, which was readily granted. I do not

think it is necessary either to mention their names or the shade of their politics, but certain Cape politicians whose names were not on the list were most anxious to see the papers, and made overtures to me to gratify their curiosity. In this they were baulked. After keeping this correspondence for six months I returned them to Gordon as he had instructed.

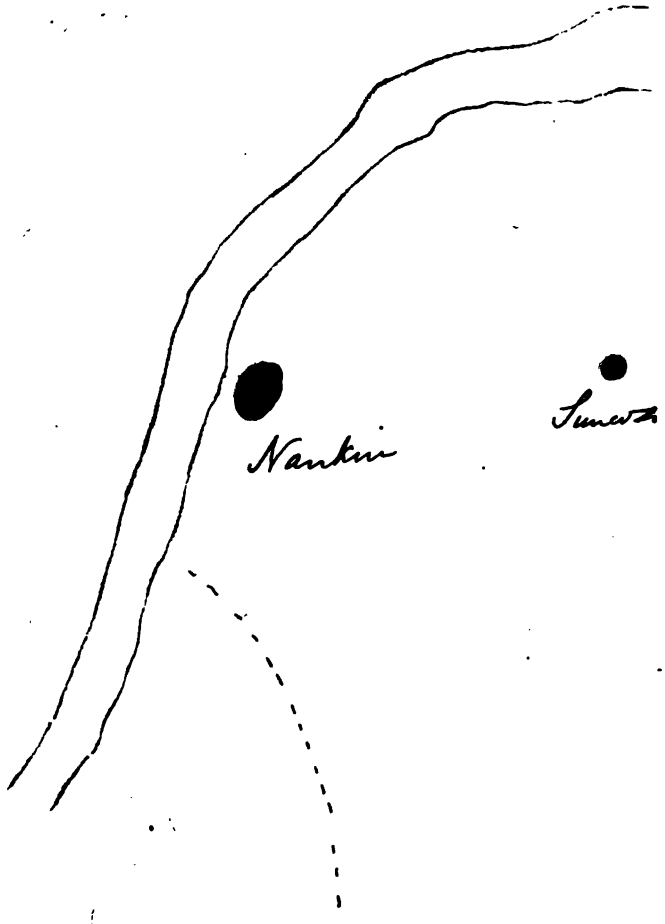
I have come very nearly to the end of my acquaintance with Gordon; the morning of the day he was to leave by the mail steamer for England he came to my quarters, and after a few trivialities asked me "whether I thought it was consonant with the dignity of a Major-General in H.M. army to be going home with less than a sovereign in his pocket." I offered to be his banker, which he accepted, saying "that he could not ask the Colonial authorities for any money, as perhaps he had rather disappointed them." I believe he would accept nothing from them beyond his passage to England. I gave him a cheque on a local bank, and later went down with him to the mail steamer to say "Good-bye."

Here a few of the leading Cape Colony opposition politicians came and saw him off. Two of his nephews, quite lads, had come down also to see the last of their uncle. On our way back we were talking about him, and both said how generous he had been to them that day. I had then and still have a very strong suspicion how he had disposed of my loan a few hours before.

Gordon's last words to me as I left the steamer were, "Can I do or say anything for you with Wolseley? I know him very well; he and I are great friends." Alas, when I wanted that good word my friend had crossed the bourne from which no traveller has yet returned.

Though dead, his memory, honesty and kindliness of heart, upright, unselfish, straightforward conduct, gallant and noble service and heroic end, will for many generations be remembered and admired, and his name never forgotten.

THE END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